

Public Administration

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Books for Review should be addressed to THE EDITOR.

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The Institute and the War Emergency

Membership

During war time it is proposed, as far as is practicable, to maintain the organisation and services of the Institute. It is therefore hoped that members will co-operate in achieving this, and will make a special point of notifying the Secretary of any change of address. If it becomes necessary to remove the office from its present address, members may wish to note that communications may be addressed to the Assistant Secretary, Miss G. Kembell, Treetops, Rucklers Lane, King's Langley, Herts.

Subscriptions

It would be appreciated if those members who have not already paid their subscriptions for the current year will do so at the earliest possible moment.

Publication

As occasion requires or opportunity offers records of work done will be published, but at this stage it is impossible to say how frequently such publication will issue or what form it will take. That being so, readers are, with great regret, informed that, as from this issue, it may not be possible to continue publication of PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION in its present form.

Meetings

It will be necessary to reconsider the programme of lunches, meetings and conferences arranged for the coming winter. Members will from time to time be informed of all arrangements made.

The Future

Members are reminded that, however drastically the activities of the Institute may be curtailed for a time, the Institute owes its birth to the stirrings and changes which accompanied and followed the war of 1914-18. When peace once more returns our work will be no less important than it was then.

F. STEADMAN,
Chairman of the Council.

B. BARNES,
Hon. Secretary.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

From its first settlement in 1630 to the present time.

By SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

VOLUME I.

BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY J. B. ALLEN, 1847.

Public Services—What Value ?

By SIR GWILYM GIBBON, C.B., C.B.E., D.Sc.*

THE expansion of social services during the last four decades has been revolutionary in effect. We have entered on a new stage of social development, and are still far from the end of it. If even a third of the proposals which are put forward for further extensions were adopted, the changes would be as great as, and in some respects even more significant than, those of recent decades.

Our provision of new services has far outrun our means of assessing the returns obtained from them—the distant as well as the immediate returns—just as our material advances have far outstripped our ability to make the best use of them. Any business man would be put down as a fool who failed regularly to ascertain what profit or loss he was making. But that is exactly what we are doing as a community; we are each year spending great efforts and millions of money without any adequate audit of results. That is the text of my short address this evening.

The last Annual Report of the Ministry of Health contains an admirable brief preface in which some instances are given of the enormous progress made during the last hundred years—infantile mortality reduced from nearly 150 per 1,000 live births of the 1840's and 50's to under 60; the death rate from tuberculosis brought down from over 30 per 10,000 persons to less than 7; the average age at death raised from, for instance, the 20 years in the Manchester of 1837 (still less in some places; but the average for the whole country was about twice that of Manchester) to the present average of about 60 years for England and Wales as a whole; the prodigious crop of good sanitary dwellings with plenty of light and air, in contrast with the ill-equipped dwellings which were being crowded together a century ago in narrow streets and alleys with little even pretence of sanitation. It is to be hoped that historical comparisons of this

* Address delivered at the Spring School, 1939, of the National Association of Local Government Officers, held at Exeter.

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kind will be continued because all too little is generally known of the conditions in the past, and the present can be seen in right perspective only when observed against the background of the past, and also because far too little is attempted to extract the instruction in which past experience is rich for our profit.

We do well to be proud of the astounding advances achieved in the last century and half, advances far beyond those of very many times that number of years in our past history; but we would do better still if we probed far more deeply into the profounder consequences of measures, the more so that many of them are suspect. I shall refer to a few of them this evening—let me add, in no pessimistic mood even though some of them are disquieting.

HEALTH SERVICES

I shall include central as well as local services in my survey, and I will begin with one that is primarily of central concern for government—health insurance. There is no question of the great benefits which have accrued to hundreds of thousands of homes from this service. Despite the complaints which are made from time to time of the medical treatment which is afforded, all the evidence goes to show that on the whole the service is far better than would have been available had there been no health insurance.

On the other hand, there is no comprehensive evidence, as far as I am aware, that health insurance has on the whole led to the improvement of general health. This is a strong statement, but seems warranted by the facts. Sickness claims have increased and are increasing. You will find figures in official reports, and a brief summary in a paper which I delivered to the Royal Statistical Society in 1937.

Another disturbing fact is that the "bottle habit" still thrives, the simple faith that a bottle of medicine is a sovereign cure for ills. Official sermons have been preached against this faith and other efforts made to break it, all in vain. The Scot does not worship so innocently at the altar of the bottle, at any rate not this bottle, and his example has been held forth, but to no effect. And meantime the business of patent medicines still thrives. All of which shows what little dent has been made in man's credulity in his search for health, notwithstanding health insurance and the many local health services.

A few years before the last war, I investigated State-aided schemes of health insurance on the Continent, in particular the compulsory schemes in Germany. We in this country were at the time considering introducing a national scheme. In the book which I wrote on the subject I emphasised the danger of what I called "valetu-

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dinarianism" (I apologise for the word but no better has yet been found), the weakening of the will to resist disease. It is a far greater danger than malingering and the figures of claims suggest that it has afflicted our health insurance.

I agree with those who urge that insurance needs to be extended, particularly to dependents, or some other equivalent provision made; but I regard it as still more urgent that the results and consequences of present health insurance should be more thoroughly and comprehensively investigated.

THE YOUNG: THE AGED

One of the most serious problems of the future is the catastrophic decline in the birth rate, serious in its political, its social and economic and its moral consequences. A foreseeing few have long urged its gravity, but only recently has it received much general notice, and and even now not many realise the profound effects on general well-being—profound even if we consider only the total population, much more so if we take into account also its distribution between the ages. There are those who think, too, that there will be a smaller proportion of exceptionally able in the population, but this is not much more at present than a guess, though not to be disregarded for all that.

If we assume that the present population of over 40 millions in England and Wales be reduced to about 37 millions in 30 years' time (and some say that it will be less), then it is likely, in round figures:

That by that time the number of children up to five years will have been reduced from the present not far short of nine millions to under six millions; but

That the number aged 60 and over will have increased from under five and a quarter millions to over seven millions, and that the number aged 70 and over will have risen from the present two millions to over three millions.

These are not pleasant figures and it is high time that the country in general woke up to their serious significance for the future.

The decline in the birth rate is obviously to be attributed chiefly to causes outside measures undertaken by State or local authority. These causes lie deep in social and economic conditions and in changes in individual outlook, habit and practice. And there may be other causes of which we know nothing at present. The declining birth rate is in large part at any rate a penalty of progress—progress as we understand the term now; it may well be that in a few generations its meaning will have been changed by the demands of survival, not for the first time.

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The great growth of population since the latter part of the eighteenth century was due principally to the fall in death rates, not to a largely increased birth rate, as was formerly thought—so apt are we to mistake the facts of history unless thorough investigation is made, and even then misreadings are easy. In more recent years it is quite likely that measures of maternity and child welfare have played some, though a secondary, part in the decline in birth rate.

I am among the early workers in the field of the child-welfare movement, long before it was taken up by the State and local authorities, so I am not likely to underestimate its value. But the measures have enhanced in the minds of parents and others the preciousness of the individual child, with probably the incidental consequence that parents have become less inclined to have children because each child brings so much more responsibility—and also so much more expenditure. We may have induced too great a sense of care and, in this as in other matters of life, while care is good, too much care may be bad.

The very much that has been said in recent years about maternal mortality, too much in the opinion of some, may have tended in the same direction. The bearing of children has been painted as a terrible ordeal, even in some authoritative quarters. I have been told by some medical men in whose sound sense I have reason to trust, that the picture has been overdrawn and that women have been needlessly frightened of maternity. Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that the fuss that has been made has had some influence in curtailing the number of births.

Indeed, it almost seems, as I have said elsewhere, that for the community, as for the individual, he who would save his life should not take over-much thought about preserving it—or to put the idea in terms of modern conditions, in our many measures for saving and improving life we should try to prevent that over-anxiety which in direct or indirect ways may easily do more harm than all the good from our well-intended efforts.

PROLONGATION OF LIFE

One of the most striking signs of the great advances during the last hundred years is the prolongation of life. In England and Wales, the average age at death has been extended from about 40 years in the early 1870's to the present about 60 years. Observe that the figures state the average length of life, that they include deaths of infants as well as of adults, and that, therefore, much of the gain in average length of life is to be attributed to the great reduction in deaths during infancy. But there has also been a great gain in adult life, with a much larger number of aged persons. A

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good deal of the longer lease of life is to be attributed to better social and economic causes, but allowing fully for these much of the credit remains for measures of public health.

But there is not a little on the debit side of this account, much that is a cross, not a blessing. In the coming decades the community will contain far fewer children and far more elderly persons. And this will be in a community where the tendency has been to shorten active working life, by more reluctance to employ the elderly and by superannuation. The situation certainly seems not a little paradoxical, and we may have to do a lot of hard thinking about it in coming years, and had much better do so now.

One consequence of the changes will be a large increase in the number and cost of old age pensions and that in a smaller community. In the statistical paper to which I have referred, I stated that the cost of old age pensions (at ages 65 to 69 as contributory pensions as well as the State pensions to those aged 70 and over) will have increased from £56 millions in 1935-36 to well over £100 millions in 30 years' time, even assuming no further extensions.

There may be still more startling changes. The much larger proportion of elderly persons cannot but bring uneasy changes in social outlook. There may be much less of the red blood of life, much less initiative, much less enterprise, and very much more of that creeping paralysis of communities, an inclination always to play for safety.

An American writer, afflicted with nightmares by the fantastic schemes put forward for liberal pensions even to the young elderly as one easy means of ensuring perpetual prosperity, depicts a grisly future where the aged hold the balance of power and dominate governments. His picture may be almost as fantastic as some of the schemes which he satirises, but it is not without point.

There is another questionable aspect of this prolongation of life. Some may think that what I am going to say is brutal, but if we would understand life and its problems we must ascertain the facts of life as strictly and impartially as if we were dealing with material conditions. Sentiment has a high place in deciding action, but not in ascertaining the naked facts.

One of the most pathetic sights is to see aged persons without any interest in life, dragging on their existence with little of its joy and very much of its pain. There is no virtue in merely increasing the years of those whose days are a burden to themselves and to the community. The virtue of prolonging the years of life depends on what those whose lives are prolonged contribute to life, directly or indirectly, in their earlier years of more health and vigour as well as in their days of age, and what larger joy they obtain from it. If

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we are content with merely prolonging life, even though lengthened days bring infirmities, we may be less merciful, despite our best intentions, than the savages who killed their aged. There is far too much easy optimism about "progress." With this crucial qualification, however—that man has survived only by his pertinacious will to life, even when conditions seem desperate, and no community can afford in general to weaken that will. I am not, of course, advocating any slaughter of the ancients and am concerned only to state facts in a clear light, free from mists.

EDUCATION

I have time only to refer briefly to one or two other of the many dubious consequences of public services. Let us turn to Education for a moment, far and away the biggest spender in the local government service. Are we obtaining anything near adequate value in return for the huge expenditure? Is education sufficiently attuned to the realities of the world in which men and women have to live, and to the needs and abilities of individuals for the parts which they will have to play in life? I have found few impartial persons who are not uneasy.

Do not mistake me. I have had occasion, in connection with the recently-published History of the London County Council, to inquire into the work of public education during the last half-century, and have been astonished afresh at what has been achieved, not so much in the narrowly educational sphere but in general civilizing influence, remarkable changes in habits and behaviour and, among the most notable, in health—and also the increased opportunities of the open road to advancement for the boy or girl of exceptional ability, in whatever class it be found. Still there remains that uneasy question—to what extent in fact has the public education of the last seven decades better fitted the ordinary man and woman for the real demands of personal and of civic and social life?

Incidentally, education authorities are faced with a big problem because of the great fall in the number of children, not only by the fall itself but by the reduced demand for teachers and the smaller proportion of young, fresh teachers, with new ideas and initiative. This is a problem which it would have been well to have tackled much earlier, possibly on a national scale.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

The facts disclosed before the Royal Commission of 1930-32 on the lamentable plight to which the reckless grant of unemployment payments had brought the country aroused public opinion and led to notable reforms. It is noteworthy that, contrary to usual practice,

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the most telling evidence came from a civil servant, one of the principal officials of the Treasury. What of the position under the new dispensation?

There is still room for uneasiness. The Unemployment Assistance Board had the misfortune to get off with a bad start. The withdrawal of the first regulations was one of the worst episodes in the public affairs of recent years; I am throwing no stones but just stating facts. The Board can justly claim in its later work to have satisfied public opinion, but there is much to raise question, chiefly because of the attitude of Parliament and of public opinion, and one could wish that the Board's reports were somewhat less purring and much more searching.

Critics of the present régime in the United States allege, seemingly not without some substance, that measures for relieving distress have created a permanent dependent army of some ten millions of persons. We, too, have been doing something of the same kind, though not nearly to the same extent. We have a much greater experience behind us, though we are adept at forgetting its lessons. I am well aware how exceedingly difficult it is to deal satisfactorily with the problem of the unemployed, having had much to do with the task myself; but the first necessity is to face the hard facts of the situation, including the hard facts about human nature, and not to let action be determined just by sentiment, or just by political expediency, and we have a long way to go before we reach that state of grace.

The same is true of public assistance. To-day we look at public assistance not as of old as the mere giving of relief but as one of the many social services now provided by the community. But in practice this does not mean much more to many than to give relief more easily and more liberally, not to give it with more investigation and care so as to fit service the better to the present and prospective interests of the individual and of the community. It is too little realised that modern public assistance calls for a higher standard of administration than in the old days of deterrence, and that the last thing that the community can afford is to weaken individual initiative and the individual desire for independence. Modern administration might well study and take to heart the remarkable lessons provided by some of the best administration of poor relief in the old days, without losing the modern outlook.

PROPOSALS

What a lugubrious address—some of you may be tempted to say. It is lugubrious of set purpose—to lead up to some constructive proposals, to fill up a serious gap in modern administration. And may I add, for right perspective, that it would have been much easier

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to have prepared an address on the great achievements of public administration during the last fifty years—but I am more concerned for the big problems that lie ahead, which receive all too little attention amid the spate of proposals for reaching Utopia by express.

At the outset I pointed out that the State and local authorities have no systematic means for ascertaining the crop which in fact their many measures produce. In finance, good balance sheets are now produced, though there is still plenty of room for improvements. But the balance sheets of public authorities have to be made up in flesh and blood as well as in money—in security and health, ability and character, individual and communal well-being, and these for future generations as well as the present. Not a balance sheet easy to prepare, on the contrary desperately difficult because of our complicated society and the recondite consequences, consequences all the harder and at the same time all the more necessary to discover because they may penetrate deep into the foundations of individual and communal vigour, so recondite indeed that at best our findings must always be regarded as provisional, to be watched and confirmed or revised in the light of new experience. But difficult as the task may be it must be attempted because every public measure is an experiment, to be continued, extended, curtailed or abandoned as events prove success or failure. To rely on expectations is to court disaster; history abundantly shows that the event, especially the indirect and distant consequences, is often far different, may be quite the opposite, from the expected.

This being so, it is odd that no systematic machinery has yet been set up by Governments to ascertain results, yet not so odd if human nature be understood and its unbounded faith that what it expects must happen. What I propose is that we should make good the lack of reliable evidence, that we should establish as an essential organ of government a body of men with the sole duty of ascertaining as best they can the results of public services, the men being as highly competent as can be obtained and their work being conducted in a strictly impartial spirit. They should be appointed by the Government but in their investigations and findings be as independent as judges. They should deal with local equally with central services. Their business would be to find out consequences, direct and indirect, present and prospective, the naked truth as free as humanly possible from preferences and preconceived ideas, and it would be no part of their business to suggest measures, remedial or other, so essential is it not to risk twisting truth and so easily and subtly can it be twisted by desire to reform, even when the truth is sought in all good faith.

The findings would in the main serve two purposes. They would

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serve as guides for those who determine policies. True statemanship requires facts, not fancies. The findings are needed also for the education of public opinion, and this education is at present lamentably, and may easily become tragically, short of the responsibilities of government thrown upon the elector. The ordinary man, even if keen and learned, cannot possibly expect to be sufficiently informed of public affairs of his own accord; he needs adequate, impartial guidance. I do not for one moment suggest that he should surrender his judgment to experts, but that he should have reliable help in exercising that judgment.

We are confronted, too, with the stubborn, and disturbing, fact that men and women are becoming ridden, even hag-ridden, by fixed ideas, ideologies as is the present fashion to call them. This plague is not confined to any one class, to poor or to rich, to the ill- or the well-educated or to any one kind of "ideology." It is in large measure a ferment fostered by prevailing social and economic difficulties and disturbances, a psychological escape from the travails of the time, not by any means wholly to be deprecated, even though the extremes may be deplorable, whether to the right or to the left. But there is urgent need of a steadying stream of sense and fact.

Far be it from me to suggest that we should ever rely wholly on the findings of any governmental body. On the contrary, private independent research should be encouraged, as a check on, and as a supplement to, the former, and would probably be encouraged by the very work of the governmental body, to question its findings or to buttress them. All of which would be to the public good because social organisation is so complex and effects of measures so difficult to ascertain with certainty that even fact-finding should not be left to any one body, however ably manned.

We have entered on a new stage of government, since the beginning of the present century in particular. Old services have been expanded, new ones have multiplied, governments are doing more and more for the individual and for the family. We need to know what these measures are producing, of good or of ill, in what measure they are benefiting or harming, strengthening or weakening, planting the seeds of vigour or of decay; and I am convinced that some organisation on the lines which I have suggested is essential for these purposes and for the stability and sound progress of the community.

Social Services Carried on by Voluntary Agencies

By MISS A. ASHLEY, M.A.,

Secretary of the City of Edinburgh Council of Social Service

I HOPE you will not feel that I am going too much outside the subject allotted to me if, before considering the social services under voluntary agencies in their relation to the development of the life of Edinburgh, I consider first the place of voluntary agencies in British life.

First, however, may I as the servant of a voluntary society express my very warm appreciation of the kindness and patience which public officials, both national and municipal, exercise towards the Council of Social Service and its workers. I often feel that these officials might well be exasperated by our intervention in respect of cases of people in whom we are interested, and their continuing friendliness and the sense of comradeship which this gives us is one of the great satisfactions in our work.

Here I might begin on a personal note. Recantations are, I think, always interesting, and I have to confess that up to some five or six years ago I tended myself to regard voluntary service as a kind of Cinderella or poor relation in the family of social institutions. I realised the importance of the experimental work that could be done by voluntary agencies in many fields where the community as a whole was not yet prepared to act, but regarded the taking over of one service after another as the nation was convinced of its necessity as the line of progress and development.

The course of events on the Continent of Europe, however, during the last five or six years has tended to emphasise afresh to me, and no doubt to many others, the value of the voluntary element in British institutions as standing for variety and freedom and setting up some measure of resistance to the infection of totalitarian conceptions of life.

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Voluntary social services, however, run certain dangers of their own. They need to be ceaselessly vigilant that the community should not use the fact that they are attempting to work in certain fields as an excuse for postponing national or municipal action when this is really called for. I remember an occasion a good many years ago when the Edinburgh Council of Social Service was invited by a national department to undertake work for the care of the mentally defective and was offered financial assistance for the purpose. At that time there was in the opinion of the Council of Social Service a crying need for more institutional accommodation for defectives and it seemed necessary to emphasise the fact that any work undertaken must not be regarded as an alternative. Social workers entering any field should become so concerned for the well-being of those for whom they are working as often to be not a sop to the conscience but a thorn in the flesh of the powers that be until adequate provision is made.

The resources of voluntary bodies are very limited, and it is frequently impossible for them to cover the whole ground of a necessary service. Moreover, there may frequently be gaps between them through their failure to confer with each other and to map out among them the ground of social development.

While, moreover, voluntary bodies frequently pave the way for public effort by their pioneering activities, their influence may sometimes be lessened by the fact that some of the voluntary social activity carried on in the nineteenth century represented an effort of the more comfortable members of society to help their more struggling fellow-citizens. Thus, there may be suspicion in some quarters that voluntary social work is a class effort or is amateurish in its methods and outlook. In most departments this suspicion, where it exists, is quite unfounded nowadays, but it may actually have the effect of discouraging the development of some desirable public service on which volunteer pioneer work has been done. I believe, for instance, that it is urgently desirable that municipalities should employ trained women house property managers both in new housing estates and in reconstructed groups of dwellings. Such work is nowadays a highly skilled profession for which a thorough professional training is available. The value of the services of trained house property managers to landlord and tenant alike have been clearly demonstrated and fully proved. It seems possible that municipalities might more rapidly have realised the desirability of making use of them had there not been a failure in some quarters to understand that, if there was ever a day when the typical woman "rent collector" was a benevolent amateur, that day was long past.

A number of departments of social service may be taken as

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illustrating the relative place and interaction of public and voluntary social services and the fact that the same type of professional worker may be acting in one place under a public body and in another place under a voluntary society:—

(1) *Housing and House Management.*—The place of a voluntary service and the manner in which it can fit in harmoniously with municipal development is well illustrated by the Edinburgh Welfare Housing Trust. This, though voluntary, had a semi-municipal origin, through the activity of Bailie Mrs. Somerville, whose loss is so greatly felt. This example of the harmonious relationship between voluntary and municipal activity in the field of housing may well encourage one to hope that in like manner some harmonious method of house property management might be developed which would take advantage of the experience of voluntary as well as municipal bodies.

(2) *The Work of the Hospital Almoner.*—A hospital almoner can perform the same functions whether she is employed in a voluntary or in a municipal hospital. The action of the London County Council in appointing almoners as soon as the old poor-law hospitals were taken over by the public health department has caused a boom in the profession and it is much to be hoped that other municipalities will rapidly follow suit. Such almoners would all naturally belong to one professional association whether they were employed by a municipality, or a county council, or by a voluntary hospital.

(3) *The Provision and Conduct of Institutions.*—As an interesting example of a typically British way of working, let us consider Dr. Guthrie's Schools. These schools are approved by the Home Office as suitable for the training of children committed to them from the courts, but are nevertheless under voluntary management. Though they take nowadays many more pupils from the courts than voluntary pupils, they do still take a few of the latter. Many other institutions under voluntary management receive selected cases from official bodies towards whose maintenance they also receive contributions from official funds. This is a method of working with which my work in Council of Social Service brings me much into contact. When we in our efforts to help individuals and families make arrangements for the admission of a child or an older person to some suitable voluntary institution, we know that the local authority will often make a regular contribution. We are most grateful for this willingness to make use of voluntary homes, though the possibility of this has its limitations, as I shall emphasise later.

(4) *Individual and Family Case Work.*—This is a field in which the value of the voluntary society may be somewhat obscured for

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some by one side of the history of many such societies. Here in Edinburgh there was once long ago a society called the "Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor," whose name reveals the fact that it was the effort of one class of society to help people who were regarded as belonging to a very different class. This is not the whole of the lineage of the Council of Social Service in Edinburgh, but is one element in its pedigree, though it may be hoped that it has nowadays lived down any unhelpful associations which this may involve. Councils of Social Service do not in every place undertake family welfare work which is in any case only one aspect of their activity. Those which do undertake it, however, may be held to have developed on the one side from Associations for Improving the Condition of the Poor and other nineteenth century efforts, but on the other from a sense felt by many social bodies of all kinds after the Great War that they should draw together and combine their resources as part of the effort to make "a land fit for heroes to live in."

Councils of Social Service have come into being with two purposes. On the one hand they are an effort to bring together voluntary bodies of all kinds, and also—if it may be—official bodies, with the purpose of mutual consultation for the mapping out of their spheres of action, the planning of development and the avoidance of gaps. Whether any individual society or charity achieves its maximum usefulness seems largely to depend on whether it takes its place as part of the social provision of a district or of a nation with full understanding of the functions of other societies and of public departments and complete co-operation therewith. One intention of Councils of Social Service is that they should work towards such an ideal by bringing together representatives of public departments, of churches of all denominations, of educational bodies and of social institutions of all kinds. On the other hand many of them, including the Edinburgh Council, endeavour, again by co-operation between societies and departments, to assist families and individuals in difficulty and in perplexity. The service provided comprises advice, information and constructive planning for the lessening of suffering and the overcoming of difficulties.

With regard to the future development of the relationship between voluntary and public service no hard and fast rule is to be desired. At the same time it may tentatively be suggested that voluntary bodies should not attempt to assist on such a large scale as to make individual methods impossible, such large-scale assistance being a function of the State or municipality. On the other hand, while dealing constructively with small groups should be the special gift of the voluntary society, it is hard for such societies to cover completely even that part of the ground. Accordingly the State and the municipality might

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well experiment also with the conduct of similar specialised institutions and the employment of the modern type of specially trained social worker.

As I have already mentioned, the use of voluntary homes by public departments to deal with specialised types of case has its limitations, since the numbers needing such help is often too great for them to be adequately provided for without the use of public funds. One possible expedient might, of course, be for voluntary institutions on a large scale to be financed out of public funds, but, alternatively, failing this plan being adopted, public institutions of similar specialised type could be founded. As an example, we may take the fact that the first modern homes for the mentally defective were under voluntary auspices; there are now homes of similar type under public auspices, and a visitor could probably not distinguish from the conduct or the tone of the institutions one from the other in most cases. This is only true, however, because the public authorities in Britain have made such extensive use of the experience and, in fact, of the general way of approach which has been worked out by the independent voluntary bodies.

Foreign observers comment on the *esprit de corps* and the strong individual "flavour" of British schools and these qualities are characteristic of very many State-provided schools nowadays, partly because they have incorporated so many of the best aspects of more individual and experimental educational enterprises. In the same way we may hope, as time goes on, to have many State-provided homes for the aged, training centres for young men and young women, homes for mothers and babies, and other specialised institutions of so human and individual a type as to be indistinguishable from the best voluntary institutions in their tone, while having the benefit of the larger resources of the State.

The Administration of Voluntary Social Service

By RICHARD CLEMENTS

[*Paper read at meeting of the Institute of Public Administration in London on Friday, 17th March, 1939*]

SPEAKING of the closing years of the Victorian Age, Sir G. M. Trevelyan says: "Voluntary and private effort, aided by the State, did many things that in other countries were done solely by the State or not at all."¹ This partnership between the State and the voluntary associations has since been applied in many new fields of work, and in the post-War years has achieved some considerable successes.

Towards the close of the War conditions were favourable to a many-sided development of social work, statutory and voluntary, for there was a strong current of opinion in support of social reform and reconstruction. So much so, that in 1917 a Ministry of Reconstruction was set up and actually functioned for a time. New legislation and welfare schemes were propounded; conferences and lectures were devoted to social questions; and a steady stream of pamphlets and articles flowed from the presses.

Then, in 1919, the National Council of Social Service was established to co-ordinate and direct voluntary effort. In a very literal sense it was born out of the experience of the four years of war.

The first work of the Council was to link up the voluntary work which had been carried on in a number of towns by such organisations as relief committees, aid associations and other charitable associations. Such bodies came into existence in parts of London in the late 'sixties. Similar organisations were established in the provincial towns in the course of the next two decades. These town organisations experienced many vicissitudes of fortune and, by 1919, generally speaking, they had developed into guilds of help, citizens' societies, or councils of social service. The leaders of the larger of these local bodies, acting in conjunction with representatives serving in an advisory capacity

¹ See Sir George Macaulay Trevelyan, *History of England*, p. 617.

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from several government departments, and others chosen for their special knowledge of certain branches of the work, formed the personnel of the Council. Its early reports dealt primarily with social work in the towns and the influence of new legislation.

It was soon apparent to all who took part in that early pioneer work, whether representing statutory or voluntary bodies, that many advantages and additional strength came from the existence of a national organisation such as the Council. It not only served as a channel of communication between the government departments and the voluntary associations, but linked town with town and enabled a more comprehensive view to be taken of all existing activities. It also made for a general levelling up of the standards of voluntary work throughout the country. The Council's activities and the contacts it established brought to light many new social needs and spread abroad a wider knowledge of existing work.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY COUNCILS

It had been a weakness of the voluntary movement that it only existed in an organised way in the urban areas. It had no counterpart on the English countryside. This became glaringly apparent to social workers as the mechanisation of agriculture, motor transport, and wireless broke down the old barriers between town and country. They saw that an examination of the needs of the rural areas was necessary. The first fact to be noted was the decline of the rural population which, in 1871, stood at 8,671,000, and which had, by 1921, declined to 7,851,000—a decrease of 10 per cent. It was clear that this steady exodus from the countryside could be traced to economic and social causes, and it was seen that, given goodwill and imaginative action, the conditions of village life could be enriched and made more attractive. Agriculture, as a way of life, could again be made acceptable to keen-minded and enterprising men and women. The claims of both economic and social betterment had to be taken into account, and a deeper sense of the value of co-operative action infused into rural life. These were, in fact, some of the objectives of the first Rural Community Council, which was established in Oxfordshire in 1921.

In December, 1921, the National Council of Social Service called a conference to consider how the work started in Oxfordshire could be extended to other counties. As an outcome of that gathering, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees agreed to finance a limited number of rural community councils for an experimental period. The trustees were convinced by results of the valuable work of the first group of councils and continued their policy of grant-aid until 1935. There were by that time rural community councils in twenty of the

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largest counties. The number has since been increased to twenty-eight.

Many valuable lessons in the administration of voluntary social service can be drawn from the work of the rural community councils. Their activities, which extend over a period of eighteen years, have shown that some of the early ideas of their founders have had to be revised in the light of experience, while others have been strikingly confirmed in practice. It was at first intended, for example, that the councils should be principally advisory bodies, promoting co-operative action on the part of existing organisations and, where opportunity offered, forming village councils with similar advisory functions. In fact, it was soon apparent that there were many village problems which it was nobody's business to tackle, and that unless the councils themselves acted little or nothing would be done. It was further discovered that village councils were not easy to form or to keep alive and active when established. The work they were intended to perform has now, generally speaking, devolved upon the village hall committees, bodies with definite and practical aims. This is a useful example of the correction of theoretical views by practical field experience. Any new community councils which are established will, as in the past, be representative of the principal county organisations and the county councils, but their first and immediate task will be to ensure the affiliation and representation of all existing village hall committees.

There seems likely to be an increased number of rural community councils in the near future. As a result of negotiations which the National Council has had with His Majesty's Development Commissioners, an offer has been made to provide development grants for new community councils. These grants will be subject to certain conditions, notably that each new council shall secure the support of its local authority, *i.e.*, the county council. In other words, the new work must be of such a character as to command local grant-aid before help is given from the funds provided by the Government. Then, too, it should be observed that the assistance given from the Development Fund is for establishment purposes, and is on a declining scale. The responsibility of securing voluntary subscriptions for the continuance and maintenance of the councils is thus emphasised.

ADMINISTRATION OF RURAL WORK

Equally instructive to a student of social administration has been the experience of these councils in planning their activities. Policy and finance have proved to be closely interrelated. The work

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undertaken varies considerably, in quantity and quality, from county to county, but a broad general picture emerges from even a cursory survey. Four principal departments of work are common to nearly all the councils, namely, rural industries, village halls, educational activities and an information service. A number of councils are also engaged in public health work, the assistance of parish councils, welfare activities among unemployed people, the provision of playing fields, and the preservation of the countryside.

Two of these general activities—village halls and rural industries—demand a more detailed reference, as they are of first-class importance to the rural community. The councils are at present responsible for carrying out the policy of the Rural Industries Bureau in twenty-three counties: that is to say, they cover 52 per cent. of the whole area of England and Wales. It has been found that the assistance and advice needed by rural craftsmen can best be given by bodies such as the rural community councils. It is not too much to say that their work has saved hundreds of village workshops from closing down; while many blacksmiths and wheelwrights have been restored to a measure of prosperity, thus enabling them to improve their plant and to take on apprentices again, as a direct result of the publicity and other efforts made on behalf of rural industries.

The rural community councils, acting on behalf of the National Council of Social Service, have played an important rôle in the administration of the Village Hall Funds provided by the Development Commissioners and by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees. Of the 515 schemes helped, 263 have been handled by rural community councils. They have also been largely responsible for an advisory service on such matters as the preparation of plans, the drawing up of trust deeds, the raising of money, and the calling of preliminary meetings. Then, after the halls are built, this side of the work is continued by the giving of advice on such other matters as rating, taxes, licences and insurance; and also, of course, in the development of the social, recreational and educational programmes which are carried out by village hall committees. That this form of service is appreciated by the rural community is shown by the fact that 800 village hall committees, representative of all sections and shades of opinion in village life, are now associated with the movement.

Time does not allow me to mention the many forms of educational work, study classes, musical groups, drama societies, clubs, women's organisations, and other cultural and welfare activities which are thus strengthened and advanced by voluntary social service on the countryside. I can only express the hope that some broad impression has been given of the scope and quality of the service rendered.

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COMMUNITY WORK ON NEW HOUSING ESTATES

The next example with which I am concerned is drawn from the work now being undertaken on the new housing estates, where some remarkable developments have taken place in recent years. At the close of the Great War, as you know, there was an acute housing shortage in Great Britain and, under the wide powers conferred by Parliament on the local authorities, a vigorous effort was made to regain the ground which had been lost. From 1918 to 1937 over 3,000,000 new houses were built in England, thus increasing the 8,000,000 pre-War dwellings to 11,000,000—an increase of 37 per cent. This meant that more than 3,000,000 families, or say 12,000,000 persons, equalling 30 per cent. of the population of England and Wales, were moved into new homes in those years. It seems certain that renewal on so large a scale, and involving so many people, had never before taken place in the whole course of our history.¹

Post-War re-housing was carried out under the urge of a primary human need, that of shelter, and the cry for houses had to be met at any cost. This caused many important psychological factors to be overlooked. It was forgotten that houses alone do not make homes, and certainly that agglomeration of homes does not necessarily constitute a community. Tens of thousands of new tenants were confronted by a fresh start in life without the help and guidance of tried associations and old neighbours. Serious social problems loomed large on the new housing estates on the outskirts of the great towns, and ten years ago the National Council of Social Service took the initiative in forming a New Estates Committee to study and, if possible, meet the new human needs which were then emerging. This committee has studied social development on the new housing estates in all parts of the country; assisted in building up community associations; and, later on, to establish community centres.

The New Estates Committee, which was reconstituted in 1937, and is now known as the Community Centres and Associations Committee, in the comprehensive handbook on the detailed work and administration of the organisations it is promoting on the new estates and elsewhere, has suggested the following definitions of (1) a community association, and (2) a community centre. I cite them here because they indicate the underlying principles which are being worked out by this movement:—

(1) "A community association may be defined as a voluntary association of neighbours, democratically organised within a geographical area which constitutes a natural community, who have

¹ See address by Sir Kingsley Wood, P.C., M.P., the *Social Service Review*, April, 1937, p. 55.

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come together either as members of existing organisations or as individuals, or in both capacities, to provide for themselves and their community the services which the neighbourhood requires."

(2) "A community centre may be defined as a building which: (a) serves a community organised in an association which is responsible for the management of the building; and (b) provides facilities for the development of the recreational, cultural and personal welfare of the members of that community; and (c) constitutes a meeting-place for voluntary organisations or other groups in the community which need accommodation."¹

The work of the committee has shown that the satisfactory evolution of community life on the new estates is dependent upon a partnership of effort by the Government; local authorities; existing voluntary organisations; and the tenants themselves.

Much of the early work undertaken on the new estates grew out of the efforts of the tenants to solve their own problems, sometimes aided by voluntary associations and individuals of good will. Then, as the need for suitable buildings in which to house social activities became clear, the local authorities were induced to act. They had certain powers to provide centres or halls under two permissive clauses in the Education Act, 1921 (for youth) and the Housing Act, 1925 (for adults). Up to 1932 the provision of community centres by local authorities was but an ideal. However, in 1933 a start was made by the erection of a centre on the Manor Estate at Sheffield. This experiment attracted the attention of the municipal authorities in other towns, and in the course of the next two years half a dozen centres or halls, some of which were afterwards proved to be inadequate, were built. The principle of joint action on the part of local authorities and voluntary associations was thereby firmly established on the new housing estates.

In July, 1937, a new impetus was given to the work by the passage into law of the Physical Training and Recreation Act, under which the powers of local authorities were extended by Parliament so that they may now provide community centres on new housing estates and elsewhere for all ages of the population. An opportunity was thus provided for the inclusion of the older towns in the effort being made to create facilities for a better community life. This was a significant advance. The National Council of Social Service found it necessary to increase its staff of officers in this department from two to seven to cope with the many demands for information and advice which were being made by local authorities and voluntary

¹ *Community Centres and Associations*. A collection of papers on the policy and administration of associations and centres. See first paper, section 1. Published by the National Council of Social Service, 26, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1. (Price 1s. 6d.)

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bodies. These appointments were made possible by generous grants from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust and from the National Fitness Council under the Physical Training and Recreation Act.

These officers have been called upon to discuss with representatives and officials of the local authorities a wide variety of problems involving many schemes for instituting community centres and, in particular, the planning and equipment of buildings, maintenance charges, and the provision of capital costs by the local authorities with grant-aid from the National Fitness Council. A wide and varied plan of co-operative action is thus being steadily evolved.

The activities of the officers of the Community Centres and Associations Committee of the National Council of Social Service have not been restricted to the provision of advice about buildings, or the formal organisation of community associations, important as this side of the work has been, but they have also given help and advice in the provision of recreational and educational services in the centres. In this way a new sense of value of community life is being developed on the new estates; and, under democratic control, constructive schemes of social service called into being.

Sir Kingsley Wood, who was then Minister of Health, speaking at a conference in April, 1937, attended by representatives of sixty local authorities, as well as members of voluntary societies, cited the work on the new housing estates as an example of a happy marriage between official and voluntary enterprise. "Applying the principle of a fair division of labour to the problem . . .", he added, "the conclusion is reached that, while it must in many cases rest with the local authorities, assisted by the Government, to provide, or assist the provision of proper premises for community activities, it must rest with voluntary organisations and private effort to take the lion's share in running the premises when they are built. The striking success of the innumerable voluntary organisations in our older towns is ample confirmation of their ability to undertake this work, and it is on this ability which the Government are proposing to rely in their new proposals for physical training and recreation."¹

SOCIAL WORK AMONG UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE

My last example of the partnership in social action between statutory and voluntary bodies is the service which has been undertaken in the last nine or ten years on behalf of unemployed people. This has been, in my judgment, one of the most ambitious and far-reaching social experiments of modern times. It is certainly the work

¹ See address by Sir Kingsley Wood, P.C., M.P., in the *Social Service Review*, April, 1937, pp. 58-59.

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for which the National Council of Social Service is best known among the general public.

It is important to grasp at the outset the real aims of the occupational club movement. It was not intended by means of the clubs to solve the economic problem of unemployment, or even to suggest solutions. It was recognised that these were responsibilities devolving upon the Government and the leaders of industry. Neither was it suggested that the occupational clubs were, in any sense of the word, a substitute for normal wage-earning employment. The purpose of the clubs is to provide for fellowship, informal kinds of education and recreation, and to combat the loss of self-respect and the galling sense of inferiority produced by long-term unemployment. Critics of the club movement have often failed to take these simple facts into account.

The first clubs were established by spontaneous local effort, and in the autumn of 1932 the movement had spread to many parts of the country. It was then that the Government invited the National Council of Social Service to act as a central advisory body and offered to place funds at its disposal for strengthening the work in places where the need could be shown to be acute, and to help in securing the necessary instruction and leadership.

To enable the Council to maintain close contact with the clubs, its headquarters' staff was enlarged and area advisory officers appointed with local offices at Leeds, Birmingham and Cardiff. Then, as the number of clubs increased, it was decided to group them for advisory purposes and instructional services under regional councils in the principal industrial areas. While in some of the large cities assistance was given to the clubs by autonomous town organisations. In South Wales the services, provided by the regional councils in other parts of the country, were supplied by the settlements.

GRANT-AID POLICY AND FINANCE

The task of financing this movement proved to be complicated and difficult. The basis of financial support was voluntary and it is estimated that funds raised for club work up to March, 1937, amounted to £600,000, of which total £60,000 represented the amount paid in subscriptions by unemployed people themselves. But, in addition, from the autumn of 1932, the Ministry of Labour has made an annual contribution to the work of the movement. The first annual grant, which was equated with voluntary money on the basis of £ for £, amounted to £15,000. The total amount received from Government funds from 1932 to March, 1937, was £230,931. It has now been decided that the grant for this purpose will in future be provided by the Unemployment Assistance Board instead of, as in

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the past, the Ministry of Labour, and the contribution for the financial year 1939-40 has been fixed at £120,000.

The clubs have also been assisted in some places by the local authorities, and their aid has taken a variety of forms. Buildings have been provided at nominal rentals; rebates on rating have been given; and reduced charges for water, gas and electricity. A number of authorities have provided instruction in craft work and other subjects.

Financial support has also been given to the movement by the method which has become known as "adoption." This has sometimes taken the form of a prosperous town adopting a community suffering from severe unemployment. Other schemes were sponsored by business houses, banks, municipal departments, industrial concerns and, in particular, by the Civil Service; the staffs concerned agreeing that a certain regular contribution should be made from their salaries. It is estimated that last year the total contributions amounted to £40,000, of which £27,000 was contributed by the staffs of the Civil Service.

Some of the earlier schemes have lapsed but, in general, the interest of the Civil Service staffs has been well maintained, and it would even appear that the number of adoption schemes is increasing. There are now over 100 social service associations in the Civil Service alone and the number of regular subscribers is steadily mounting. There are also about thirty associations formed from the staffs of banks and business houses. More than 200 clubs have been "adopted."

There is much to be said for this method of raising finance for voluntary social work. It creates a human link between those who are in permanent employment and the men and women who are bearing the burden of unemployment and poverty. It also broadens and increases the public interest in voluntary effort, as many subscribers are led to make personal contact with the people they are helping. Much practical help and encouragement have been given in this way by the representatives of the Civil Services who are serving on national or regional committees, as well as by those who have paid visits to the clubs. The objections which can be made against adoption schemes are mainly on the grounds that they develop a "proprietary" attitude on the part of a staff towards a particular club, which, if uncontrolled, may lead to a spirit of patronage; and that sometimes the help accorded is unequally spread over the clubs in a particular area, thus giving rise to jealousy and a feeling of unfair treatment. These difficulties, where they existed, are now being overcome by fuller co-operation between the adopting bodies and regional councils.

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THE SPECIAL AREAS

No account of recent development in voluntary social service could ignore the work which has been undertaken in recent years in the Special Areas. In 1934 the Special Areas (Development and Improvement) Act was passed, under which special powers were given to two Commissioners to help such areas as County Durham, Tyneside, South Wales and parts of Scotland. Close co-operation has been maintained between the Commissioners and the National Council of Social Service, and this has enabled financial assistance to be given to existing voluntary agencies in the areas concerned, and much new work has been initiated. In South Wales, for example, new Settlements have been started with the assistance of the Commissioner. Substantial sums have been given to help Boy Scouts, boys' and girls' clubs and similar work. In 1937 a sum of £250,000 was applied to the development and maintenance of social work of a voluntary character. It may well be that the experience gained in the Special Areas will pave the way for certain of these forms of financial assistance to be extended to all parts of the country.

LEADERSHIP

A word may be said, in conclusion, about the future of the social activities which have been discussed in this paper. It seems certain that the planning, administration and leadership of social work will become increasingly necessary and important. In contrast to the authoritarian régimes abroad, we shall witness a steady application of our own system of interrelated effort on the part of the State and voluntary associations. The success or failure of that method of social advance will turn upon two factors—finance and leadership.

Adequate finance for voluntary work will, it is believed, be obtained by the combined efforts of the State, the local authorities, and voluntary contributors. The resources of such a partnership are equal to any demands which the future may cast upon them. This, given the maintenance of peace, is the least difficult part of the task confronting the leaders of voluntary work in this country.

The provision of adequate leadership raises many difficult issues. They will only be overcome by the recruitment and training of a larger body of professional social workers. Voluntary social service will become increasingly dependent upon the quality of its leadership. It will not be forthcoming unless the training, status, and terms of service of full-time social workers are improved, and their work placed upon a new basis which will demand of them the skill, integrity and standards of the older professions of medicine and law. It is to the creation of this new type of social practitioner that we must look for the realisation of our best ideals.

Some Random Comments on British Local Government

By MILTON E. LOOMIS

*[Paper presented to the members of the Central and
North Yorkshire Regional Group]*

AMERICANS have been assiduously taught to believe that their own system, or lack of system, of local government was the worst in the world, and that British local government was substantially a model of perfection. These ideas are doubtless based upon misconceptions arising in part from the well-known American tendency to be impressed by superficial phenomena, and in part from the universal conviction that affairs are ordered better elsewhere. I mention this American point of view at the outset, because it may explain why the American observer, when brought into first-hand contact with British local government, is inclined to stress inconsequential defects. It is because he is simply astonished to find that anything at all could possibly be wrong with the government of British local areas.

With this preliminary admission of my inability properly to appraise relative values, I shall be bold enough to pursue the psychologically unsound procedure of stating first some—most—of my unfavourable impressions, reserving until later testimony anent my sincere admiration of the British system.

In the first place, may I say baldly that I think it is positively wrong for British local governments to exclude from their service, as completely as they do, university graduates. I say this with full appreciation of the practical difficulties involved in enlisting the services of university men. I know that the interests of many thousands of present local government officers must be considered. However, I cannot believe that the traditional British capacity for composing conflicting interests with fairness and equity would not

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serve to solve this problem, were an earnest effort made to that end.

I would certainly be the last to imply that the educational disciplines of the British universities were, in themselves, an adequate preparation for service in local government. I am too much of an American to be wholly confident of the soundness of the theory that proven scholarship in the classics is a guarantee of success in the office of the town treasurer. On the other hand, I cannot accept the thesis, which is certainly acted upon, whether or not it is consciously formulated, that scholarship as defined by the universities is substantially a guarantee of failure in the practical rough and tumble of local government service. I take it to be axiomatic that the universities cannot be expected to develop and certify to scholarship of a high order in those technical and useful areas of knowledge which are of first importance in local government administration. However, it would surely be possible to require the university graduate to secure his technical and professional qualification after entry into the service. There would surely be no need to relax the rigour of the standards of professional and technical competence.

I am aware that such procedure might subject officers entering from secondary schools to additional competition and, in a sense, to unfair competition. It may be feared that university graduates, sitting, let us say, for the final examination of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, might have an advantage over non-university candidates in the same examination. On the other hand, if it be true that university education disqualifies its votaries for practical usefulness, the advantage would lie on the other side. In that case, no harm would be done, save perhaps to deflate slightly the sense of university superiority, and this might not be an unmixed evil. My point really is that, from the standpoint of the public service, it would make no difference who should win in such a contest. It is clearly in the public interest to make the competition as comprehensive as possible, to the end that the public may secure the services of the best people, whether they come from the secondary schools or from the universities.

I am also aware of the fact—and may I inject the purely American comment that I think it is unfortunate—that many local government officers are prevented from becoming university graduates through no intellectual fault of their own. This situation presents a problem the solution of which I cannot suggest without being offensively officious. But situations have a way of creating their own solutions. A closer co-operative relationship between the universities and the local government service might evolve naturally if the ice were once broken.

All this could have been said very briefly. I was disturbed to

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find the store of talent and ability resident in the British universities so largely excluded from the local government service and could not avoid the conclusion that the service would be strengthened if something could be done about it.

Perhaps before leaving the subject of education and training, I should confess to a prejudice in regard to the general system of professional qualifications. I am afraid I should never be wholly content with a plan of technical education that was dominated as completely as that of Great Britain by associations of technical practitioners. The relative indifference of schools, both publicly and privately controlled, to the problems of educational policy involved in the preparation of members of the professions was a matter of surprise to me.

The phase of the problem which impressed me most seriously was the relative inadequacy of programmes of institutional tuition in many of the fields of professional training. Of course, I am accustomed to what may well be too great deference to the opinions of educators in these matters. There are, to be sure, many professional licensing examinations required by law in the State of New York. Many of these examinations are administered by professional boards, under the general direction of the Regents of the University of the State of New York. But in no case are the subject-matter requirements such that they cannot be met by pursuing organised and integrated courses of study in established institutions of higher learning, and no case in which academic influence has not played an important part in the framing of curricula. It is general opinion here—not for that reason, to be sure, infallible—that the close association of academic and professional minds results, first, in a sounder balance between cultural and technical content in professional education and, second, in a guarantee to aspirants to professional qualifications of educational facilities adjusted to their actual needs. In England, I sometimes wondered if the professional association were not more preoccupied with the protection of its guild monopoly than with concern for the public welfare.

I suffered a further disappointment in an entirely different area, and here I realise fully that nothing can be done about it. As a student years ago I had read glowing accounts of British local government in which it was pointed out that the national political parties had no control over local elections, in respect to which there were local party organisations, with local issues and platforms. This happy picture may never have existed, save in the optimistic minds of American political scientists. Whether real or not, it was the basis of wide acclaim of British local government and, *per contra*, of vicious attack upon American local government. It was alleged

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that most of the ills in American city administration came from the subversive control of national party organisations. It was alleged that the local electorate could not act intelligently in choosing local officers if the issues of local government were constantly beclouded by the issues of state and national governments. The English had so wisely ordered matters otherwise. In England, the local election was contested on purely local issues. Now, if it is true that the dominance of national parties over local politics is a principal cause of local mal-administration, local government in England is due to suffer a devastating decline. I do not believe that the major premise is altogether true, but I was a bit concerned to note the extent to which national parties, as such, had captured the political machinery of local authorities. I cannot escape the conclusion that this has been an unfortunate development. It may be, of course, that the fine tradition of local pride and local independence will serve to counteract the blighting effect of national political machines. But it would look as if the first thin wedge had been inserted, and that before long the British counterpart of the American Postmaster-General would be chortling in triumph at a party success in Canterbury or Cambridge, or in Wakefield, for that matter.

It is possible that the emphasis of national parties in local government is but another symptom of that change which seems to be coming over the affairs of nations generally—the rapid change in the direction of greater and greater centralisation. There is, of course, no use in attempting to sweep back the tide with a worn and stubby broom. But perhaps one may be permitted an expression of mild regret. It seemed to me that the control over local government by Parliament and Whitehall was much too pervasive. The fact that the reasons for this control are obvious and logical does not remove the inherent dangers. Naturally, local authorities are eager for financial assistance from the national government and they must inevitably pay for it by surrendering some share of that independence which many of them purchased centuries ago when the shoe was on the other foot. Naturally, also, local authorities are looked to by the central government as proper agencies for the enforcement of national statutes. This, too, involves supervision from on high. Moreover, I have no doubt that military exigency—or is it the welfare of all the people—demands a national network of highways and public utilities which bid fair to destroy the significance of the local area. But when all is said and done, there is something in local self-government that is worth preserving, and it seemed to me that it was in danger of being lost in England.

Perhaps there is some merit in the American institution of the written constitution. The American city can secure, and for the

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most part has secured, protection from the interference of the State in its affairs through the medium of constitutional home rule. Of course, until recently the American city has had to shoulder almost all the cost of its local undertakings, except in the field of education. To be sure, this has meant in many cases a choice between local abstinence and local bankruptcy, a choice which has too often fallen upon the latter alternative. But at least if a city "went broke," it did so under its own steam and presumably learned something by the experience.

Americans are proud to recall that they inherited the feeling for local self-government from England and they regret to see that fine tradition slowly overwhelmed at its source by irresistible political and social forces.

I will mention one further item on the debit side of the record and then I shall have cleared my conscience. I was surprised to find so few authorities which had considered seriously the problem of central purchasing and stores. The results of experience with centralisation of purchasing and stores-keeping are so generally favourable that it is becoming a commonly recognised aspect of good administration, even in these backward American communities. When properly and sanely applied, it results in standardisation on a high quality of supplies, substantial savings in costs, efficiency in distribution and the reduction of waste in the use of materials. Of course, there may be obstacles to the adoption of central purchasing systems by British authorities, one of which may be the pronounced independence of departments and their respective committees of council. On the other hand, there are outstanding English examples of the practice, which, to the casual observer, would seem worthy of study and emulation. Judging by American experience, at least twenty per cent. of the cost of supplies and materials could be saved, with much greater assurance of uniformly first quality.

And now I come to the pleasant task of telling you of those features of British local government which commanded my unqualified admiration. In general, there can be no question that the good far outweighs the not-so-good. Favourable impressions were, in fact, so numerous that it is difficult to select a few for special mention.

First, let me speak of things of the spirit. There emanated from the officers of every local authority I was privileged to visit the glorious conviction that the local government service was an honoured profession, with traditions and ideals deserving the loyal respect and instant defence of every member. The universal consciousness that service to the public well performed, was its own highest reward, was impressively evident on every hand. Of late, Americans have fallen into the habit of doubting the stability of democracy in Great

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Britain, and surface appearances, viewed from a distance, lend support to the view. But I can tell them—and I do on every appropriate occasion—that the ideals of democracy are safe in British hands as long as the servants of the local authorities cherish their devotion to the public welfare.

Concrete manifestations of this fine spirit are not lacking. It is evident in the insistence upon professional improvement as the basis for advancement in the service. I have ventured to criticise one or two features of that system, but fundamentally it is sound and fine. It is evident in the relations that exist between the local government officer and his political superior. I venture the opinion that the relative freedom from patronage enjoyed by most British local governments is not wholly the result of self-sacrificing restraint on the part of elected officials. It is as much the product of the refusal of the local government officer to demean his calling by seeking or accepting political preferment. I was amazed to learn, in an indirect way, that a strike of the officers of one authority was narrowly averted when members of council attempted to force the appointment of a political favourite. I can conceive of strikes of local employees in the United States for a variety of causes, all connected with the material well-being of the employees, but I find it hard to visualise American public servants jeopardising their jobs for an ideal.

The professional attitude of local government officers is effectively illustrated by the policy and programme of the National Association of Local Government Officers. Nalgo is an organisation that is not, and under present circumstances could not be, duplicated in the United States. At the same time that it strikes sturdy and courageous blows for the advancement of the material welfare of its members, it manages to maintain a professional dignity and a professional concern for the public interest. In local government, the concept that the true interest of the public officer is bound up in the welfare of the community he serves is, so far as I know, peculiar to Great Britain. An association of officers that can, collectively, grasp that idea and shape its programme to conform to it is a source of constant wonderment to American observers, accustomed as they are to short-sighted, self-seeking, trade union methods in organisations of public servants.

An allied movement from which I believe much may be expected in the future is the rapid spread of regional Whitley Councils. Of course, the success of an institution such as the Whitley Council must be ascribed to the distinctive British genius for adjusting conflicting points of view through the agency of discussion and compromise. However, I think the procedure could not succeed, even in England, without the recognition that the staff side was composed of professionally-minded officers, and without the lively realisation on

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the part of these officers of their responsibility to the public as a whole.

Finally, the wide support given by local government officers to the Institute of Public Administration is eloquent testimony to their sense of professional status. The Institute can give its members no immediate material advantages; but it can give them the inspiration of association with one another, with scholars and with leaders in administration. Here again is clear evidence that local government officers are proud of their profession and eager for its advancement.

As for the functions of local government, general efficiency flows naturally and as a matter of course from a well-prepared and high-minded staff. However, I was impressed to note the calmly effective way in which the local authorities had approached and largely solved the problems of administration in relation to social welfare. There has been an American impression, fostered to some extent by Englishmen, that English reverence for precedent and property interfered with a vigorous attack upon the basic issues of social well-being. There is little evidence of this attitude in the procedures of local governments. It was refreshing to find a generally-accepted, clear-cut concept of the essential functions of government in modern society actually applied to the practice of administration. Without fanfare or parade, without declamations as to "new deals" or new philosophies, the British local governments have gone to work to take care of their people. What must be done is done, wisely and efficiently. If government housing projects are needed, the government provides the houses; if it is evident that electric energy can be provided best under public auspices, the local government acts.

All this is accomplished with little reference to purely theoretical considerations. It is not thought necessary to devise new names for new policies. The average American, on the other hand, is enormously concerned with terminology. Here, give a dog—or a policy—a bad name, and it is forever damned. The English habit of using customary and familiar words to describe new methods and new policies is greatly to be preferred. One of the important aspects of skilful administration is the happy choice of words. With us a new governmental programme must be blatantly branded with a new label. Thus antagonism and distrust are engendered. It seemed to me that the British tenacity in clinging to ancient forms was a most useful cloak for a truly progressive and forward-looking attitude. The thing I am trying to emphasise is illustrated, in part, by the fact that English administration can be in every sense modern and attuned to the times, and yet directed from buildings hoary with age and trembling with decrepitude. In America, if a programme is to be accounted modern, the first step is to spend vast sums for new buildings. I liked the British way of doing things.

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There is a saying here, arising perhaps from generations of experience with our English Pilgrim ancestors, that no souls are saved after the first twenty minutes. If this admonition has merit, it is time for me to stop. I must, however, apologise to you, as I have to Mr. McDonald, for the long delay in the preparation of this paper. I can only say that it was caused by the imperative force of circumstances wholly outside my control. I was greatly flattered to be asked to speak to you thus at long distance and by proxy. The privilege of association with members of the local government service and of the Institute of Public Administration will remain a bright spot in my experience. I look forward to the opportunity of renewing many friendships in the not too distant future.

Town Planning in the County of London

By H. BERRY,

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of the London County Council*

LIKE many another subject, town planning is discussed, and all have some vague idea as to what is really meant by the words, but if a definition were required, the answers would be both weird and wonderful. As I am addressing the Institute of Public Administration, the majority of whose members are accustomed to exactitude, even though that exactitude may at times be disguised in official language, it is necessary that I should start with a definition. For this purpose I will use the words of Dr. Theodora Kimball of Harvard University, who defined town planning as, "The arrangement for convenience and comfort of the greater or smaller groups of homes and shops and roads and parks, so that people who live in cities may have the fullest measure of health, wealth and happiness." Another definition—somewhat shorter—is that of the late Valuer to the London County Council, Mr. Frank Hunt, "Town planning is good estate management." This last definition, while true, raises another question, as to what is good estate management? And here is a controversial field into which I decline to enter.

These, then, give us our aims in town planning, but it is just as well to look at the reverse side of the question, which is given in the following quotation from Dr. Thomas Adams, "Cities do not grow, all of them are planned. Most of them are planned in piece-meal fashion by real estate owners, by railway engineers acting for their shareholders and traffic superintendents and by individual architects acting for their separate clients. The ultimate result is a haphazard collection of land, means of transportation and building. But the city interests are not entirely ignored, because every city has more or less power to control these separate plans in the interests of safety, health and convenience. Such control, however, is within restricted limits, and evils that arise from dealing with related parts of the problems of the city as if they were unrelated and disconnected, must

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remain in the absence of any planning of the city as a comprehensive whole."

This is a true picture of the past development of the County of London, although even here there are high lights which stand out, and tribute is paid to those London estates who so planned that we have the delightful squares—features of London which are now to be preserved under the London Squares Preservation Act. Judged by the definitions of either Dr. Theodora Kimball or Mr. Frank Hunt, the County of London as it exists to-day stands badly condemned. From a town planning point of view it is a monument to *laissez faire*.

Such an area has been compared to a half-sick man who has let himself run down, overwhelmed by the things that happen to him, one after another. What then is the remedy? Some bold spirits have advocated the drastic course of wiping out and starting *de novo*, but such a course is out of question unless, of course, international madness brings the wiping out to pass.

Here may I enter a mild protest against those who think that London can be treated in the same town planning fashion as an undeveloped or partially developed rural or semi-urban area. True the principles are the same in each case, but the method of application must be vastly different. Again the compensation factor which might be a bagatelle in a rural or semi-urban area could easily attain to astronomical dimensions in London unless care was exercised, and I have a shrewd suspicion that those who would urge the L.C.C. to go ahead and "Milner" the consequences, would be the first to raise a howl when the bill had to be met.

The main remedy to hand for dealing with the muddle that is the County of London is the Town and County Planning Act, 1932, which, to put it mildly, is somewhat diluted town planning. The London County Council, however, is a strictly constitutional body and as such has to use the remedy which Parliament, advised by its own administrators, has given, even though some of us may have given seasons of something that is not quite prayer to the legislative result.

The Parliamentary father of English town planning is the Rt. Hon. John Burns, still vigorous in the white winter of his age, and still interested in his parliamentary child. Part II of his Housing, Town Planning Act of 1909 marks a mild revolution in British Statute law. This was followed by the Town Planning Acts of 1919 and 1925. Under these, schemes might be made in respect of any land which is in the course of development, or appears likely to be used for building purposes (this term includes land likely to be used for open spaces, roads, streets, parks, pleasure grounds, etc.), with the general object of securing proper sanitary conditions, amenities,

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convenience in connection with the layout and use of the land and any neighbouring lands.

The Act of 1925 widened the powers, and councils of boroughs of over 20,000 inhabitants were required to promote town planning schemes. The London County Council was designated as the town planning authority for London. The latest law, although it is hoped that it will not be the last, the Town and Country Planning Act, 1932, has brought built-up areas within the purview of town planning whence previous Acts had excluded it.

Prior to what is known as Scheme 19, under which the town planning ring is placed round the County of London, the attention given to which has obscured the fact that work had been done prior to its coming, the L.C.C. had launched a number of schemes in various parts of the county.

The areas of these schemes range from 14 acres under the St. James, Westminster, scheme to 7,150 acres under the South-East District No. 2 scheme, which embraced parts of the Metropolitan Boroughs of Greenwich, Lewisham and Woolwich. The schemes number 18 in all, but Nos. 3 and 4, and 5 and 6 respectively, were severally amalgamated, making the effective number 16. Two only of these schemes have passed through all their stages and come into operation, Streatham Common No. 1 (20 acres), and Highgate and Hampstead No. 3 (906.5 acres). The Streatham Common scheme has since been amalgamated into area No. 4 of scheme No. 19, which area comprises the whole of the Metropolitan Boroughs of Wandsworth and Battersea.

The appended tables give the whole of the schemes, including No. 19 and their position on 1st June, 1925, this date being a few days after the Minister's consent had been given to proposals for the whole of the county (27/5/35).

TOWN PLANNING SCHEMES FOR THE COUNTY OF LONDON

Title of Scheme	Locality Metropolitan Boroughs of	Approximate area in acres	Stage reached on 1st June, 1935
Streatham Common, No. 1	Wandsworth	20	Resolution passed 15.4.24. The Administrative County of London (Streatham Common) Town Planning Scheme No. 1, 1928, came into operation 13.12.28. The Administrative County of London (Streatham Common) Town Planning Scheme Modification Order No. 1, 1930, was made by the Council on 27.5.30.

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Title of Scheme	Locality Metropolitan Boroughs of	Approximate area in acres	Stage reached on 1st June, 1935
South-east District, No. 2	Greenwich, Lewisham and Woolwich	7,150	Resolution passed on 22.7.24, preliminary statement adopted by the Council 19.10.26, and submitted to the Minister 17.12.26.
Highgate and Hampstead, No. 3 (Amalgamation of Schemes 3 and 4)	Hampstead and St. Pancras	906.5	Resolution passed 12.5.25 and 1.12.25. The Administrative County of London (Highgate and Hampstead) Town Planning Scheme No. 3, 1933, came into operation 13.3.33.
Holborn and St. Pancras, No. 5 (Amalgamation of Schemes 5 and 6)	St. Pancras	23	Resolution passed 2.3.26. Preliminary statement adopted by the Council 18.10.27, and submitted to the Minister 8.11.27. Area reduced by Council 10.7.28 and Minister so informed 17.7.28.
South and South-west Scheme District, No. 7	Battersea, Camberwell, Deptford, Greenwich, Lambeth, Lewisham and Wandsworth	6,738	Resolution passed 13.7.36. Preliminary Statement approved by Minister 1.12.31.
Greenwich and Woolwich (Riverside), No. 8	Greenwich and Woolwich	3,730	Resolution passed 1.2.27. Preliminary statement approved by the Minister 5.11.31. Draft Scheme adopted by the Council 17.12.33.
Fulham, No. 9 ...	Fulham	86	Resolution passed 1.7.30. Preliminary statement approved by the Minister 19.11.31. Draft Scheme adopted by the Council 13.12.32.
Peckham Rye, No. 10	Camberwell	158	Resolution passed 26.4.32.
North-east District, No. 11	Hackney, Islington and Stoke Newington	995	Resolution passed 12.7.32. Preliminary Statement adopted by the Council and submitted to the Minister 21.6.33.
South London, No. 12	Battersea, Camberwell, Greenwich, Lambeth, Lewisham and Wandsworth	1,324	Resolution passed 15.11.32.
North-west District, No. 13	Hampstead, Islington, Paddington, St. Marylebone, and St. Pancras	1,695	Resolution passed 13.12.32.

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Title of Scheme	Locality Metropolitan Boroughs of	Approximate area in acres	Stage reached on 1st June, 1935
Kensington and Brook Green, No. 14	Fulham, Hammersmith and Kensington	599	Resolution passed 13.12.32.
Westminster Abbey, No. 15	Westminster	21.5	Resolution passed 28.3.33.
Bloomsbury and North-west Finsbury No. 16	Finsbury, Holborn and St. Pancras	588	Resolution passed 25.7.33. Modified area approved 21.11.33. Approved by Minister 4.6.34.
North-west District Extension, No. 17	Hampstead and St. Marylebone	363	Resolution passed 7.11.33. Approved by Minister 28.3.34.
St. James'	Westminster	14	Resolution passed 19.12.33. Approved by Minister 7.2.34.
County of London, No. 19	Portion of County not included in Schemes 1-18	51,840	Resolution passed 10.7.34. Approved by Minister 27.5.35. subject to exclusion of Lincoln's Inn and Inner and Middle Temple.

Scheme No. 19, therefore, embraced 51,840 acres of the county, while the sum of all the preceding schemes embraced 23,411 acres. In other words prior to the coming of Scheme No. 19, less than one-third of the county had been town planned. There was this further difference, that the last scheme embraced built-up areas, whereas most of its predecessors, being under Acts prior to the 1932 Act, only included undeveloped land, land that was so situated in connection with undeveloped land that it ought to be included, or land of archaeological, historic or artistic interest.

For the purposes of administration the county, other than those parts already covered by town planning schemes and those to which town planning does not apply, has been divided into six areas:—

Area No. 1, West.—The Metropolitan Boroughs of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, The Royal Borough of Kensington, Paddington, and the City of Westminster.

Area No. 2, North.—The Metropolitan Boroughs of Finsbury, Hampstead, Holborn, Islington, St. Marylebone, St. Pancras and Stoke Newington.

Area No. 3, East.—The Metropolitan Boroughs of Bethnal Green, Hackney, Poplar, Shoreditch and Stepney.

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Area No. 4, South-West.—The Metropolitan Boroughs of Battersea and Wandsworth.

Area No. 5, South.—The Metropolitan Boroughs of Bermondsey, Camberwell, Lambeth and Southwark.

Area No. 6, South-East.—The Metropolitan Boroughs of Deptford, Greenwich, Lewisham and Woolwich.

The Council decided in the preparation of its town planning scheme to proceed directly to the draft schemes and to dispense with preliminary statements. This will apply to all schemes for which preliminary statements have not been approved by the Minister.

The Minister's consent to Scheme No. 19 provided the L.C.C. with an administrative problem of its own, in that there were two committees each dealing with major aspects of the same problem. The Town Planning Committee, under the late Major Harry Barnes, dealt with town planning matters, while the Building Acts Committee, under my own chairmanship, dealt with the Building Act side of all applications. Therein lay the possibility of clashes between the committees and consequent delay and cost to the applicant. Although a close personal relationship had been established between Major Barnes and myself for over twelve months prior to the Minister's consent, and this minimised the possibilities of clash, the latent potentialities were still there. The sensible course was pursued of combining the two committees and it fell to my lot to undertake the duties of chairmanship. Once again I would like to pay my tribute to the courtesy and self-effacing modesty of Major Barnes in agreeing to serve as my vice-chairman. Death, however, intervened and prevented London having the advantage of his wealth of experience and sound planning judgment. London and our country generally are the poorer for the loss of a great-souled public servant and administrator.

As has so often been done both in London and the provinces, the L.C.C. passed its resolution on which Scheme No. 19 is based without a plan being prepared. The advantages of this method are obvious and need not be discussed but, like all things human, such a course possesses drawbacks. Interim development is a difficult period in connection with all town planning schemes, and the difficulty was never more strongly felt than in the late summer of 1935. True, the City of London was its own T.P. authority, but even so, the work in connection with the County was very difficult indeed. If I mention that neither Mr. W. T. Kelly, M.P., my present vice-chairman, who shouldered the work Major Barnes could not undertake owing to his fatal illness, nor I were both absent any day during the long summer recess of 1935, the difficulties of the situation will to some measure be appreciated.

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Seldom, or never, has any man been blessed with a better or more loyal colleague than have I in Mr. Kelly and, but for his help in that critical year, I doubt whether it would have been possible for me to have endured the situation. Our reward in foregoing our 1935 summer holiday is that, contrary to the prophecies, and I suspect the hopes of many, London's T.P. administration did not then break down, nor has it since shown any signs of so doing. The chaos which apparently exists in the minds of some people with regard to town planning has no place in the T.P. department of the L.C.C. As might be expected with a department dealing with planning, the sweetest of order reigns supreme.

A careful watch is kept by myself on weekly returns showing the length of time town planning applications are at County Hall before decisions are given and every endeavour is made to keep this time to a minimum. Only between 1 per cent. and 2 per cent. of such applications take over 7 weeks, while the majority receive decisions under 5 weeks, this with 15,000 applications to handle per annum.

From time to time some disgruntled person rushes into the Press, technical and otherwise, with a story concerning the length of time taken to deal with their application. If these stories be analysed, it will generally be found that while there is always the possibility of a slip with the L.C.C., being a human and therefore fallible institution, the fault generally lies with the applicant, either in the form or the subject matter, or it may be the design that accompanies his application. It is libellous to suggest as was recently done in verse that:—

“ There are long, long trails on the Yukon,
But the longest one of the batch
Is the trail that starts at County Hall
And ends at Colney Hatch.”

As so often happens where matters of sheer administration are concerned, party divisions do not often occur on my committee, and there are members who are keenly interested in town planning and equally as keenly desirous to see it take full effect. This is not peculiar to the present Council, nor with the present chairman of the committee, for the same thing occurred in the old Town Planning Committee under the chairmanships of Mr. Harold Swann, the then Lord Haddo (now Marquess of Aberdeen) and Major Harry Barnes. With an admittedly faulty Act of Parliament every endeavour is made, has been made, and will be made to give London the best possible outcome.

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The suggestion has been made in various quarters that the Council should suspend its interim development procedure and concentrate all its efforts on the production of the Town Plan. All proper effort, both of officers and committee, is being devoted to the plan, but I am averse from suspending interim development procedure, seeing what human nature is with developers and their professional advisers in common with the rest of fallen humanity. My own experience in this direction may be cited. When the Minister gave his consent and the appointed day came for the town planning "ring" to be drawn round the county, we had a rush of applications, all claiming to be pre-scheme and thereby exempt from interim development procedure. For a long time afterwards such applications continued to come in, all claiming to be covered by the pre-scheme umbrella. In addition to giving extra work to the Council's solicitors in determining whether the claims were justified, they indicated a desire to evade town planning restrictions. Were the door opened once again by the suspension of interim development procedure, the rush of 1935 would be repeated and even intensified, rights for all time would be obtained which could not be extinguished except at high cost to the public purse, and the work of town planning London would be hopelessly impeded.

Here it might not be inopportune if I registered my protest against those professional people whose precept and practice do not quite coincide. At public conferences and elsewhere, they are the first to enunciate principles of perfection in town planning matters and generally point to the L.C.C. as the awful example of how things ought not to be done. While I have not quite the patience of Job, I am trying to cultivate it in waiting to see the translation of these principles into practice by some of these persons when they act on behalf of a client.

Very soon after the coming into being of Scheme No. 19, it was realised that developers and their professional advisers were in a difficulty with regard to what they might or might not do, and measures were devised to meet the situation. Personally, it seemed to be a pity that full plans for a development should be made and then scrapped because one or other of the basic town planning principles had been infringed. With a view to meeting this the committee approved a proposal that outline diagrams might be submitted in order that basic principles might be settled before full plans were drawn. These basic principles were: height of building, proportion of plot occupied, user and siting of building with regard to highway. I am glad to know that much time and trouble, as well as money, have been saved by this means, both to the Council and to the building public, and while there still are the inevitable grumbles

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which come with or without cause, nevertheless, the method is generally appreciated.

It would be appropriate if I paid a tribute at this stage to my colleagues, the officers of my committee. They are a splendidly loyal body of public servants, ever ready to help the public, and the tributes that reach me from time to time concerning them are both gratifying and well-earned. In addition I would observe that they are zealous town planners, who act as town planning missionaries among their less enlightened brethren, and what is more are successful in spreading the light.

The present position of the town plan for the county is that Area 4 (Battersea and Wandsworth) is practically ready for the "Deposit" stage. Area No. 5 will speedily follow, while Area No. 6 will only be a month or two behind. This done, the whole of the County, south of the Thames will be on deposit. Areas Nos. 1, 2 and 3 will follow as speedily as possible. I regret that I am unable to exhibit any plans here, but I would remark that all of them are running or have run the gauntlet of the borough councils as well as the majority of the estate interests concerned. While perhaps it is too much to hope that there will be no opposition before the Minister, it is certain that such opposition will have been greatly minimised by the negotiations—protracted in some cases—that have gone on beforehand.

While the plan has been going forward, other matters have been settled, among them being the vital ones of height of buildings and proportion of plot to be occupied.

For height zoning purposes, the county has been divided into three parts, like Cæsar's "All Gaul" of our boyhood's days. Zone 1 includes most of the central business area and those other areas which are most suitable for basic industry. Zone 2 covers the sub-central area and those other areas where flats and similar buildings might be expected. Zone 3 includes the outer ring of metropolitan boroughs within the County. The scheme is set out in the following table:—

Zone	Height Ratio to width of Street	Angular limit from opposite side of Street	Maximum Overall Height		
			Single family	Other Residential	Commercial and Industrial
1	1½ : 1	56	60 ft.	80 ft.	100 ft.
2	1¼ : 1	51	40 ft.	60 ft.	80 ft.
3	1 : 1	45	40 ft.	40 ft.	60 ft.

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The numbers 1, 2, and 3 have been used above, but these have been replaced for other purposes by the letters Aa, Ba and Bb, and Ca, Cb and Cc, the use of which will be seen when we deal with proportion of site to be occupied.

(A) The height zoning proposals, which have received the consent of the Council are subject to the following provisions:—

(a) No building having a sheer height exceeding 80 feet. This re-enacts the Building Act normal maximum figure.

(b) Dormers and chimneys and similar architectural features being allowed beyond these limits.

(c) Where a building abuts on streets of different widths, the heights permissible on the wider street being allowed along the narrower street for a distance of 40 feet from the point of junction.

(d) The Council reserving the right to permit heights in excess of the foregoing standards, where it is satisfied that circumstances justify the increase. This re-enacts the old Building Act Power of Waiver.

(B) The foregoing standards being applied to residential and office buildings:—

(a) Where lit by an internal court, as if the distance across the court were a street width.

(b) Where lit from side to rear, as if the boundary of the site was the centre of a street, with special concessions being made for light wells in appropriate cases.

(c) Special provision being made for areas in the vicinity of ancient monuments or particular buildings of historic or artistic importance which might be injuriously affected by applying the standards of zone in which they lie, and for applications affecting properties in those areas to be considered on their merits.

From the foregoing it will be seen that, roughly speaking, London has been made pyramidal in that permissible maximum heights rise from the county boundaries where land is cheapest to the centre where land is dearest. While from a purely town planning point of view this has much to condemn it, in that it places a premium on land in the central areas, on the other hand objection is urged that the present permissible maxima will restrict land values in those areas. Between the two extremes it would appear that the right thing has been done.

While fixing factors governing heights of buildings in each area (or zone) determined one factor, the proportion of plot to be occupied provides another factor, and whatever is settled by these two factors determines very largely, but not absolutely, the destiny of population

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to be permitted on the site. At one time it was thought that as the two factors would settle the bulk or cubic capacity population would also be settled, but experience has shown that a density factor is also necessary.

At the same time it was essential that there should be co-ordination between the height and proportion of plot provision of the town planning scheme. A good deal of consideration had to be given to this matter, for here, as with height of buildings, there is eternal war between varying schools of thought.

Consideration of such matters as estimated population, trade expansion (or contraction), and probable demands for accommodation would appear to indicate that severe restriction would, in theory, have been justified. Against this must be reckoned the intense opposition that would have been aroused amongst owners and others, and the fact that the success of a town planning scheme depends very largely on the agreement and co-operation of most of, if not all, the interests concerned.

On the other hand there are those, including some borough councils, who consider that the Building Act provisions as to space about buildings are quite sufficient control. The problem, therefore, resolved itself into a matter of finding a reasonable mean between two extremes—not an unknown method of solution of difficulties in British Public Life and Administration.

The following tables set out the proposals in this direction, and from them it will be noted that there is correspondence between height zones and those for the present purpose, even although the adherence is not absolutely strict.

Height of Buildings	Dwelling-houses, Blocks of Flats, Residential Buildings, Places of Instruction and Institutions			
	Notation on Town Planning Draft Scheme Map			
	Zone Aa (Red)	Zones Ba (Purple) Bb (Blue)	Zones Ca (Brown) Cb (Orange)	Zone Cc (Yellow)
Not exceeding 40 ft.	50%	40%	33½%	25%
Not exceeding 60 ft.	45%	33½%	—	—
Exceeding 60 ft.	40%	—	—	—

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Height of Buildings	Shops, Offices, Business Premises and Industrial Buildings		
	Notation on Town Planning Draft Scheme Map		
	Zones Aa (Red) Ba (Purple) Ca (Brown)	Zones Bb (Blue) Cb (Orange)	Zone Cc (Yellow)
Up to 40 ft.	90%	80%	75%
From 40 ft. to height Zone Maximum ...	75%	66⅔%	66⅔%

Provided that:—

(1) In the case of a building to be erected upon a site which was in separate ownership, or was separated from adjacent sites by walls or fences before the material date and is less than 2,500 square feet, the proportions set out in the Table may be increased at the discretion of the Council.

(2) Upon the application of any person who desires to erect a building, the Council may permit a reasonable increase in the proportion of the site which may be occupied by buildings, if by reason of existing circumstances it is proper to do so. Right of appeal lies in this case.

(3) Where the proposed building is designed predominantly for use as a dwelling house, block of flats or residential building, but the dwelling accommodation will be wholly above the ground floor, the space to be left unoccupied by buildings shall be measured at the level of the lowest floor on which the dwelling accommodation is provided and the space to be left unoccupied by buildings at ground level shall be reckoned in accordance with the use of that part of the building as set out in the Table.

A thousand-and-one difficulties arise in zoning for user in the old built-up parts of the county. Here, as in other matters, the results of *laissez-faire* are seen to the full. Houses, shops and factories appear to be mixed as if shaken from a sack. Furthermore, rights are conferred on existing user by the Act of 1932, which not only allow continuance, but even where non-conforming user is patent allow an extension up to one-eighth.

A glaring example of what ought not to be, is the case of a factory—and there are many such—the land for which was obviously taken by shortening the gardens of surrounding houses. The district is

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predominantly residential, and yet the factory can remain, and the town planning authority is practically powerless if the existing user be continued.

No sane person wishes to drive industry out of London, and quite enough of this has been done in time past without much protest, but there are places where industry ought to be located, and places where industry ought not to be. As far as is possible, it is sought in the town plan to group industries in what would be appropriate quarters for them, and to prevent further sprawling into what are obviously inappropriate places.

The same remark applies to business. Certain business quarters pick themselves for continuance, as in the case of industry, but an attempt is being made at the proper grouping of business. In the case of retail shops arrangements are being made for both main and local shopping centres. True the process of elimination for both industry and business will be a slow one, but if the guidance be there on the town plan, a start will have been made in the right direction.

London is rightly proud of its parks and open spaces, both those within the county and those which are in the process of being provided outside the county under the Green Belt Scheme. A glance at the map on which those within the county are shown will reveal at once that these are by no means well distributed. Certain parts of London are very badly provided in this direction. The map shows graphically those parts of London which are more than half a mile from public open spaces 5 acres or more in extent. As might be expected, it is just in these districts that the population is the densest and the need for open spaces the greatest.

It may well be that provision in all cases of conveniently adjacent open spaces may not be possible, but the whole matter is receiving consideration in conjunction with the Parks and Open Spaces Committee. It would not be proper for me to indicate where such open spaces are projected, but as has been seen in the Press recently, a start is being made in North Camberwell, and it is hoped that others will follow.

Although the Private Open Space provisions of the Act of 1932 are, in my opinion, a snare and a delusion, nevertheless something is being done in this direction. I am happy to say that quite a number of agreements have been made with owners of private open spaces whereby they will retain their present character, without compensation, for periods of 20, 25, or 50 years. This has been the result of good work on the part of the Valuer's Department of the Council and the good will of the owners. It is idle to speculate as to what may happen at the end of that time, but it is not beyond the realms of

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hope that then the time may be extended, possibly in perpetuity.

Here I would observe that while the Town Planning and Building Regulation Committee is responsible for the town plan of London and for the direct administration thereof, the executive committees for carrying out certain resultant work on behalf of the Council are the Parks and Open Spaces Committee dealing with the provision of Parks and Open Spaces, the Highways Committee dealing with means of communication of county importance and the Housing Committee dealing with Housing, Slum Clearance, Overcrowding, etc. It is by interworking and close liaison between the four committees with the friendly aid of the Finance Committee that much work is being done at the present time, and much more work may be done in the future.

The problem of redevelopment of London's most difficult area, the East End, is being worked out, and already a start has been made on redevelopment areas. It is anticipated that further proposals will be considered for other parts of the East End. Only in this way will it be possible to obtain a proper redevelopment, in the course of which further open spaces, so necessary in those areas, will be obtained. Mention of the East End does not preclude consideration of other parts of the county, but the East End problem is the most pressing from several points of view.

I have said very little on the subject of means of communication, but this does not mean that this aspect of the problem is being ignored. Attention has already been given to many aspects of the "Bressey" report, and it is hoped that a reasonable attitude on the part of His Majesty's Government will allow certain parts of this report to be translated into actual fact. Certain decisions of the Minister of Health on appeal do not help the problem of projected new roads, but may have the effect of increasing the cost to the public.

While on the subject of means of communication, I would refer to the number of really unnecessary small streets, alleys, courts and mews. These doubtless had their *raison d'être* at one time, but that time is long past. All the while, however, there is piecemeal development, there is little hope of doing away with them, but if large-scale development—not necessarily municipal—could be undertaken, it would then be possible to embody these in the site and to obtain compensation on the main frontages. In this way it would be possible to obtain land for widening our main streets, where such is necessary, without injustice to developers, and without the public purse being unduly mulcted. It is to such large-scale developments that I look hopefully for the future.

It is not without trepidation that I venture to say a word or two on the subject of elevations. The operation of town planning is more

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protective than constructive, and never was this more true than in connection with control of elevations. Control could have the effect of placing a brake on progress, and may produce an old-time Chinese-like sterilisation. On the other hand, control may act in an entirely different fashion. Beauty is very much in the eye of the beholder, and this is a comforting thought with regard to myself personally. Whenever a new style of architecture has been introduced, there has always been an outcry from those orthodox persons who can see no beauty except along traditional lines. In London the ring is being kept, allowing freedom as far as possible, but endeavouring to hold in check any excesses, whether arising from the right or the left.

I am not without hope that by the operation of our town plan, and the necessary co-operation for which I appeal and which is already being given us, it may be possible to set right—over a lengthy period, I am afraid, but nevertheless to set right—the mistakes of years gone by. I hope that all whose duty it is to replan blocks of buildings will do so, remembering that their redevelopment and rebuilding will last for years and will be seen and judged by the eyes of our children's children. I further hope that the general good may be studied by all, even if there be to a certain extent infringement on private rights. Lastly, I hope that a charitable judgment will be exercised even when the subject is our town plan for London, and the officers and members of the L.C.C. Town Planning and Building Regulation Committee.

For the West Essex Regional Planning Scheme, 1933, a report was prepared for the Advisory Committee by Professor Adshead. While I have read that report with interest and pleasure on more than one occasion, it is to the foreword, written by Edward North Buxton, that I would now refer. In it he lays down the conditions that should govern a town plan, and these, he says, are "To build on the foundation already to hand, to conserve the heritage of beauty that has been handed down to us, but to anticipate the future, not by endeavouring to postpone inevitable change, but by planning so that we may control our destiny." While in the course of doing this for London, such of the evil heritage of the past must be swept away, round the large part that remains—the essential London—there may grow a new London, nobler and better, the citizens of which may have the fullest measure of health, wealth and happiness, and enjoying these may, by the pride they have in and the service they render to their city, raise it to even greater heights. "Except the Lord (the Ideal) keep the city they labour in vain that build it." The work that is being done for the town planning of London is offered as a step forward toward the Ideal.

Local Authority Finance and War¹

By J. SYKES,

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NOT one of the least consequences of a war in which this country became involved would be its effects upon local authority finance. Those effects, of course, would vary with the scale and duration of the military effort; but there is no doubt that they would be fraught with significance for local authority expenditure and revenue.

Certain developments would reduce normal peace-time expenditure, both on revenue and capital account. Since the national authority would divert production and productive factors so as to maximise the supply of arms and men, the flow of goods and services for civil uses would be markedly restricted. And it would be required of local bodies that they should substantially curtail their demands for materials, goods and personnel in order that war needs might be met. Since, for example, the Government would require to build war factories, arsenals, barracks, stores, &c., the housing, slum clearance and other building operations of local authorities would have to be appreciably restricted. Again, the Government would exert vast demands for coal, iron and steel, other metals, and a wide variety of materials used in constructional and maintenance works undertaken by the local administrations. Therefore, Government would presumably order a round compression of local authority new construction and repair work, such as that on sewers, mains, local roads and streets, certain kinds of trading service equipment, markets, general corporation estates, baths and wash-houses, and police stations. The personnel demands of the forces would make severe inroads upon public authority staffing which, although materially compensated perhaps by the substitution of women's labour, would, in alliance with the curtailment of peace-time local authority services, reduce staff numbers.

Another effect of war would be to reduce unemployment considerably. This is suggested by the experience of 1914-18, and also

¹ This article was written before the outbreak of war.

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by the high and insistent demand for labour of all kinds which would be provoked by the need for munitions and other kinds of war-time work. Furthermore, the general level of nominal wages would probably rise. A system of military allowances for relatives and dependants may also be assumed. These factors, in combination, would curtail the numbers eligible for poor relief and unemployment assistance, thereby lowering the cost of these important services. In the later stages of war, besides, the availability of war pensions would operate as an antidote to the making of claims for social relief.

As a by-product of the stress and strain of conflict, in addition, it is not unlikely that the central departments would deem it wise to counsel a reduction in standards of performance of services not directly implicated by war needs. Not only would this policy imply a paring of expenditure upon such amenities as baths and wash-houses, parks and pleasure grounds, libraries and museums, but also on such more essential services as education, cleansing, certain health services, valuation and public lighting. Moreover, it is not improbable that the costs of administration would be sensibly lowered by the slackening of Ministerial regulations of one sort and another, and by the substitution of short for long procedures. Above all, the central authorities would undoubtedly seek to check and discourage spending upon the extension of old peace-time services and the introduction of new orthodox services; and in this way it is possible that the normal secular advance of expenditure arising from traditional progress would be in large measure postponed, or arrested entirely.

Altogether, then, it would seem that both expenditure on capital and revenue account would be substantially compressed during war-time; and that, therefore, the budgetary problems of local authorities would neither be menacing nor even difficult of solution.

Nevertheless, there are certain factors which would provoke increases of expenditure. Moreover, it may be surmised that, in combination, these would be more potent than they were during the last war. Few serious wars have been conducted without currency inflation—most important conflicts have involved an appreciable raising of the level of general prices. The voracious demands for warlike equipment which modern warfare involves, the pronounced scarcity of labour and the general pressure on economic resources may be expected to entail some measure, at least, of inflation. And local authorities would be unable to contract out of the effects of this, having to meet increasing costs for materials, goods and personnel. Nor is it possible to envisage how interest rates could be prevented from rising. Consequently, local bodies would be burdened with higher costs for new capital and for reborrowings. Reborrow-

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ings, moreover, would almost assuredly assume greater significance than they did in 1914-18, because of the large expansion of aggregate indebtedness in post-war years and the maturing of short- and medium-term loans. It is a point of some importance too, that, acting on the experience of the last war, it is doubtful if the central authorities would condone the radical curtailment of general local expenditure, but especially that devoted to maintenance and repair, which they either instigated or tolerated in the period 1914-18. For the price which subsequently had to be paid in consequence of the extreme neglect of roads, buildings, housings, and the reduced tempo of education and health services was ostentatiously great and created profound disturbance to post-war local authority finances. Besides, the local administrations and local populations themselves might take a stand on this matter; since to-day there is a clearer understanding on their part of the folly of discontinuing or excessively reducing investments in social services which so importantly condition the welfare of a multitude of persons. As in the last war, in addition, large-scale and intensive demands would be made upon the public utility services operated by local authorities, especially electricity, gas and transport. The necessity of maximising supply facilities would entail considerable spending. Furthermore, as distinct from the last war, the effects of aerial attack more widespread and more effective than was then encountered may reasonably be counted upon to necessitate onerous expenditures on the establishment of reserve supplies and on renewals and repairs. Capital outlays, in particular, may be expected to assume outstanding significance. Most important of all, perhaps, is the fact that local administrations would be required to accept responsibility for new services or for commitments which are the direct outcome of modern warfare. It is certain, for example, that A.R.P. services and fire brigades and police services would have to be conspicuously expanded: and it is possible that even the share of cost falling to be borne by the local bodies might add up to a considerable total. Again, the number of civilian casualties and the amount of ill health resulting from aerial attack might be so large as to add portentously to the costs of hospital and health services. Nor can the possibility be dismissed that the destruction of, or damage to, houses, buildings and work places might be so serious and voluminous as to instigate the public authorities to help to meet the crippling misfortunes of private persons; and such an outcome might involve expenditure for the local administrations besides the central authority.

While nothing definite can be said, it would seem plain that, on balance, there is more likelihood that aggregate nominal expenditures might rise than that they would decline, in any except a short war.

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If this conclusion is assumed, the problem of raising additional revenues has to be considered. The largest single source of revenue is that from rates. And if nominal expenditure were to rise in war-time, it may be argued that rates would have to be raised. For the national government would be in a worse position to increase its Exchequer Grants than it is in peace time; since the costs of conducting the war would be extraordinarily high, and, therefore, even allowing for a substantial resort to Government borrowing, the pressure of war-time central taxation would be acute. It is true that the local authorities might with justice expect the central body to give substantial help towards the cost of special and extra duties laid upon them directly in consequence of hostilities. Nevertheless, the scope for granting such assistance would be distinctly narrowed by the exigencies of national finance. And in any case the central government would hardly be likely to regard itself as under obligation to help local administrations to bear the burdens engendered by inflation and higher interest rates—two factors having paramount importance among the causes of increased local spending.

In default of any large assistance towards meeting additional expenditure commitments from Exchequer Grants, the local authorities might consider increasing the charges which they impose for trading services on the one hand, and for rate fund services on the other hand. It is doubtful, however, if heavy reliance can be placed upon higher charges for trading services as a general source of greater revenue. For, owing to the markedly increased demand for such services as water, gas, electricity and transport (of workers) which would emanate from industry, and the difficulties attendant upon extensions of supply and those caused by the damage to plants and equipment inflicted by enemy action, probably it would become necessary to ration radically domestic consumption. The possibility of increasing general local authority revenues on any substantial scale by means of higher charges to domestic consumers would therefore be limited. And it would be impolitic, if not actually disallowed by Government, markedly to raise prices charged to industrial consumers. There remains the possibility of enlarging the receipts derived from charges for rate fund services. To follow this policy, however, would have the drawback that higher charges would more intimately and generally affect the poorer part of the population; for they are outstandingly the greater consumers of the services in question. In fact, it was mainly to benefit this category, with its especial need for local authority services of such kinds, that post-war charges have deliberately been maintained at low levels. And it may not be the wisest war-time policy to impose markedly regressive taxation upon that large bulk of the population on which heavy

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reliance must inevitably be placed for the success of the war effort. The conclusion is, then, that greatest reliance of all as a source of increased revenue must be placed upon local rates.

Any radical attempts to raise local rates, however, would encounter difficulties. Thus, derating has considerably narrowed both the scope and the elasticity of the rating system relative to the position obtaining during the World War. This it has done by largely relieving manufacturing industry of liability to pay rates and by exempting agriculture. Generally and summarily, this entails that the predominant part of additional local rates would fall to be borne, in the first instance, by occupiers of dwellings. Since the numerical bulk of house occupiers belong to the poorer classes, and since these, in turn, are principally wage earners or small salary earners whose nominal remuneration would probably lag behind price rises eventuating from inflation (even though the aggregate income of these classes were expanded by the decline of unemployment postulated earlier) the average individual house occupier's capacity to bear substantial increases of local rates would be restricted. It would be further curtailed in the case of the lower strata of wage- and salary-earners, because the considerable relief of rating imposts which, in effect, they enjoy in peace time as a result of the highly redistributive effects of large local authority social expenditures¹ would almost certainly be reduced in war time; for then such social service outlays would be curtailed. Another fairly general reduction of the rateable capacity of working-class house occupiers would be entailed by the decline in family incomes occasioned by the absence of principal male earners on military service.

A way to escape payment of radically higher local rates available to working-class house occupiers would be for them to move into smaller houses—to "filter" down. But there are obvious limits to that process. Moreover, although by this and other expedients working-class house occupiers might succeed in large measure in passing increased local rates on to house owners, it must be recognised that the taxable capacity of these is not unlimited. Indeed, owing to the losses which would fall upon house owners through damage to and destruction of their properties resulting from air raids, in some local areas at least their capacity to meet higher rating levies might be materially strained. More significant still, the serious increase in the risks of housing investment occasioned by potential and actual air-raid damage, would probably lead to a "flight" from this line of investment by large owners, necessarily those with greater ability to pay higher local rates. Allowance must also be made for the fact that a fair number of houses are being acquired by working-

¹ See my *Study in English Local Authority Finance*, pp. 166 et seq.

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class persons through the agency of building and friendly societies. Unless a scheme designed to relieve them of capital repayments during war time were arranged, the strain of meeting these without the aid of the incomes of male earners engaged on combatant service might noticeably impair their ability to withstand greater rating burdens. Finally, in the areas from which evacuation of population took place, the rating authorities would encounter peculiar difficulties in obtaining rating revenue. For—especially as a result of voluntary emigration away from dangerous places—many houses there would cease to be occupied; yet the expenditure of the local authorities involved is not likely to decline in ratio to the reduction of their populations. Indeed, the necessity for providing special war services and for meeting losses due to destruction and damage might conceivably cause expenditure to soar outstandingly. Even “receiving” areas would probably find that they had to incur special additional commitments to provide essential services for the extra populations acquired by them; while, on the other hand, it could hardly be expected that there would be an increase in the number of rateable hereditaments sufficient to compensate by way of expanded rating revenue.

Despite this brief review, perhaps enough has been said to suggest that the repercussions of even a moderately serious war upon the finances of local authorities may be viewed with some concern. The moral to be drawn is that the problems involved should receive consideration, and early consideration. A few suggestions may be made now. On the side of expenditure careful investigation should be undertaken of ways and means of reducing local authority war-time commitments without, on the one hand, restricting the supply of essential or primary war services such as public utilities, and on the other hand without inflicting undesirable and long-lasting damage upon services representing investments in human welfare. It would seem that there is a stronger case for limiting outlay upon such items as cleansing and disposal of house refuse, markets, general corporation estates, private street works, purely local roads and footpaths, parks and pleasure grounds, baths and wash-houses and open bathing places, public lighting, legal and parliamentary expenses, administrative expenses, libraries and museums, elections, mental hospitals and mental deficiency, and slum clearance, than upon such items as water, gas, electricity, transport, harbours and docks, main roads, health services, education, poor relief, police, agriculture and fire brigades. The working out of arrangements which would assign priorities, but equally which would effectively subordinate less essential services, should result in a contraction of expenditure other than that due to less controllable forces such as inflation and higher interest rates.

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On the side of revenue, the fact that a large slice of existing Exchequer Grants is now awarded on the basis of block grants which would automatically reduce central assistance when prices and costs rose should be recognised; and alternative arrangements might be schemed out which would induce a more egalitarian sharing of the war-time costs of local authority services between the two types of government. This would almost inevitably involve a return, in part or in whole, to the percentage grant system. Schemes of compensation and public financial assistance towards meeting war damage should also be investigated, with a view to ensuring that any such assistance which might be accorded would carry with it a pre-determined basis of contribution from the central authority.

As for revenue derived from trading and rate fund service charges, despite what was said earlier about the difficulties of increasing this, a scheme could be devised to do so. This would take advantage of the greater capacity of richer persons to pay. It would entail the adoption of progression in charges. And although it would be a hard task to effect the necessary discrimination, various possibilities offer themselves, such as that of levying steeper charges for water, gas and electricity on more highly-rented houses. By adopting this principle, appreciably higher revenues could be derived from private consumers not only of such services as water, gas and electricity, but also of municipal housing, trade refuse, mental hospitals and education.

Steps might also be taken to render the rating system more efficacious as a producer of revenue. Valuations of properties having rentals above certain prescribed minima might be scaled up so as to import into the system a greater measure of ability to pay. If it were deemed necessary, the possibility of revising derating concessions to manufacturing industry and to agriculture might be inquired into; for it is certain that the high level of economic activity, allied with inflation of prices resulting from scarcity of products, would roundly enhance the capacity of such enterprise to bear local rates. Moreover, it is fitting that such enterprise should share the increases in local authority expenditure which would have to be incurred on its behalf, directly and indirectly.

Lastly, it is desirable to explore more fully the possibility of a national scheme of insurance against damage to and destruction of house property. If such a plan could be devised, the flight from housing as an investment might be stayed, with the result that the disadvantages and drawbacks illustrated earlier would be prevented from maturing.

Co-operation Between Local Authorities and the Electorate

By G. MONTAGU HARRIS

[An Address delivered to a Week-end School held at University College, Oxford (under the auspices of Barnett House), on the 15th April, 1939]

AT the outset of my remarks I should like to say that I am going to make one large assumption, namely, that we are agreed that local self-government—as opposed to centralised government—is a desirable thing in itself, and that when we talk of local government we mean a system under which, in the words of the Simon Commission on India, “local bodies with wills of their own exist. They initiate and carry out their own policies, subject only to such powers of direction and control as are retained by the Central Government. They appoint, subject, it may be, to regulations as to qualifications, their own staff, and raise in the main their own revenue. They govern, in fact, a detached system. They are not a mere subordinate part of the governmental machine.” Now, this country of ours is very generally described as “the home of local government.” That it was so once upon a time is undoubtedly true. Is it so still?

Certainly we have as complete a *system* of local government as anywhere in the world, and our system is such that it gives an opportunity to practically everyone of mature age to play a part in local government by voting at local elections, by becoming a candidate for election and by expressing personal views at any time on the action or inaction of the local council, in general or in particular.

It cannot, however, be denied that the extent to which the general public makes use of these opportunities is very limited. I have had occasion to make a special study of the voting at municipal elections in our ten largest cities. The result shows that between 1927 and

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1937 there have been only 29 cases in which the electorate polled over 50 per cent. of its full strength—and of these cases ten were in Glasgow and three (the only cases recorded) in Edinburgh, showing that the interest of the electorate is decidedly greater in the two chief Scottish cities than in those of England. During those ten years the percentage of votes in Birmingham never reached 50, Bristol, Liverpool and Manchester did so only twice, while in West Ham the highest percentage was 34.4 in 1927, only reaching 27.3 in 1937, and on several occasions being under 25.

The apathy of the electors in other cities and in other types of local authorities is very similar. In the debate on this subject in the House of Lords in May, 1938, the Earl of Munster, speaking for the Government, agreed that the matter was of grave concern. In London since 1922—at the last four elections of county councillors and the last six of borough councillors—the percentage had generally been between 30 and 40. It was, he said, much to be regretted that a keener interest was not shown by the people in London and the provinces in municipal elections, but it was a matter entirely for the local authorities.

I know that there exist local government officials who hold the opinion that our local government would be more efficient than it is if it were left to them—if the local councils, the elected amateurs, were to be entirely abolished. They may be right, but it is a point which I do not care to argue for the reason that I am one of those who believe that, in local government, efficiency—though obviously of great importance—is not everything. I believe in the value to a nation not only of local government, but of local *self-government*, and, to my mind, this does not exist where local administration is carried on entirely by paid or nominated officials.

For the purposes, then, of what I have to say to-day, I start with the presumption that it is desirable that the general public shall take an active interest and participation in the administration of their own locality. They do not, as a rule, do so at present. How can they be induced to do so?

When I use the word "participation," I do not mean by that that members of the public should be called upon to do the work which is done by officials to-day. The time has passed for anything of that kind in countries such as ours. Even the general meetings to decide policy which are still held in many parts of Switzerland are only possible in small communities—for very restricted purposes we still have them in our parish meetings. The system existing at present in the U.S.S.R. of calling on all inhabitants to do some practical work in relation to administration—to act as street cleaners, rate collectors and so forth—is mainly due to the non-existence of

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trained officials. In many parts of India it is found to be far more satisfactory that the inhabitants of villages should themselves deal with their own sanitation, should themselves clear their tanks of the plague of water-hyacinth, should often do their own building—but this is largely due to the difficulty of raising any local funds with which to pay officials.

Here, however, we have now numbers of persons qualified to undertake the highly technical tasks of the local authorities. It is true that, as regards administrative officials, we have not yet as complete a system of training as in the technical branches, but that is coming and, at any rate, we have the organisations which supply adequate training in law, in accountancy and in finance, which subjects cover the greater part of the administrative sphere. It would obviously be absurd to attempt to carry out the executive administration of our local councils except through men so qualified.

None the less, it is still a part of our tradition that these officials, however eminent in their professions, are merely servants of the local councils, under whose direction they must act.

Not only this, but it is held in this country that these local councils should be representative of the people of the locality, and that for this reason—in order that minorities of all kinds may be represented—it is essential that the membership of these councils shall be fairly large in number. In this we differ entirely from the United States, where the tendency is towards smaller and smaller councils—except in some half-dozen of the largest cities the number of council members is seldom greater than seven or nine—but here again we come back to the sole question of “efficiency,” for it is upon that ground that the smaller councils are preferred.

We hold that it is for the good of the people themselves—their political, economic and general intellectual education—that they should not, even for a term, hand over the government of their locality to one person or even to a group of persons, but that they should, besides taking the necessary action to get the right sort of persons placed on the local councils, keep a constant watch on the work of these councils, so as to ensure that this is carried out with energy, honesty and efficiency and in accordance, generally, with the will of the community as a whole.

The first essential to an attitude of this kind on the part of the public is a recognition of the importance of local government. That this, generally, does not exist is due to a lack of the right sort of education. In this respect, I think, matters are gradually improving. “Civics” or “citizenship” is becoming more and more a subject in the curriculum of elementary and secondary schools and of institutions for adult education. But there is still very, very much more

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to be done in this direction and, in particular, it seems to me that, whereas more instruction is being given year by year in the facts of our local administration, there is need for very much greater insistence on the duties of citizenship.

This is a large question, on which much more might be said, but I want to get on to the next point, with which, I think, it is intended that this gathering should be more directly concerned, namely, the necessity—if the interest of the citizens in their local administration is to be aroused and kept alive—of keeping them fully informed as to the activities and the proposals of their local council and the methods by which this can best be done.

I have used the word "citizens," and I think that this is important. These people are much too often described as "rate-payers," and I am inclined to think that it is, to a large extent, the use of this word that leads to a wrong attitude of mind towards civic affairs. The opinion seems to be frequently held that the only thing that the layman has to do in that connection is to pay his rates, that he has got to do this whether he wants to or not, and that "low rates" are the be-all and end-all of his interest in the matter, irrespective of the advantages which he gains from rate expenditure.

Of course, extravagance by local authorities is to be condemned, but we all know, if we think of it, the meaning of "false economy," and the first consideration of the citizen in relation to his local affairs should be, not "What rates have I to pay?" but "Is the administration of our local council in the true interests of the community as a whole?"

In Germany and in America, although the citizens have not nearly as much power of expressing their will by vote and resolution as in this country, and in spite of a widely prevailing distrust of municipal authorities in the United States, there seems to be a more general interest, a greater pride, in the local public institutions than with us. It is true that in many of our greater cities, especially in the north of England, much local patriotism is to be found, but, from what I have already said about apathy at local elections and from the frequent complaint that people will not attend meetings except at election times, it is clear that this does not go so far as it should.

One American practice which tends to keep up an interest in local government is that of organising contests between cities on different subjects—public health, protection against fire, prevention of motor accidents, diminution in criminal offences, etc.

A good account of these contests is given in the *Municipal Year Book* (of U.S.A.), 1938, from which the following particulars are taken.

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The National Fire Waste Council, which is affiliated to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, has conducted during the past fourteen years, among other methods of stimulating interest in fire prevention and protection, an "Inter-Chamber Fire Waste Contest." Cities enrol in the contest through their local chambers of commerce, 305 cities doing so in 1936. The cities are graded by a committee on the basis of 40 per cent. for reduction in loss or a consistently good fire loss record, 30 per cent. for educational activities, and 30 per cent. for permanent structural and protective improvements. Awards are given in each of six population classes.

The City Health Conservation Contest is sponsored jointly by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the American Public Health Association. Participation in this contest is less extensive than in the others, and has been decreasing. Reports were submitted by 117 cities in 1933, 97 in 1934, 96 in 1935, and 78 in 1936. The items on which cities are scored include the health committee of the chamber of commerce, water supply, sewage disposal, milk supply, prevention and control of communicable disease, community interest and education, the city's record in reducing death rates for the more preventable causes of death, and expenditure for public health services. In the 1937 contest, prizes were awarded for the first time for noteworthy achievement in the fields of tuberculosis and syphilis control. In order that no city may win a special prize unless its general programme is well balanced, cities competing for special prizes must obtain a score of at least 600 points on the general schedule. Regular and special awards are given to one city in each of six population groups. Honourable mention is given to other cities in each group if considered deserving. Any city winning the contest in its class for two years is barred from further competition and, if it maintains its high standards, is placed in a special award class.

There is also a Rural Health Contest on similar lines. Sixty-six counties enrolled in this for 1936.

The National Traffic Safety Contest is conducted by the National Safety Council. The number of cities participating in this contest has steadily increased from 287 in 1933 to 1,101 in 1937. Cities are graded on six points:—(1) accident record, death rate and reduction in death rate; (2) accident reporting; (3) traffic planning; (4) traffic law enforcement; (5) child safety, and (6) public education. Cities are classified according to population, and smaller cities are not required to submit the elaborate grading schedule, but are placed on a National Honour Roll if they go through the year without any traffic fatalities.

There can be no doubt that contests of this description arouse

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interest among the populations of those cities which compete, and are therefore an important factor in the education of the people in local government.

In Great Britain one effort of this kind has been made; the institution, in the past three years, by the *Municipal Journal* of a "Trophy Competition" for the best annual reports of local authorities. The number of authorities entering for this competition has been distinctly disappointing, and the reports sent in more disappointing still.

The object of the annual report of a local authority should be to make every ratepayer acquainted with what the local council has done during the past year and how it has been paid for—not in every detail, not in every fraction of a penny in expenditure—but in broad outline. In order to effect this, the report must be attractive in form, readable, graphic and, above all, brief. Only one of the reports sent in for the competition in 1937 complied with these requirements—that of Darlington, which was awarded the trophy.

Strictly speaking, Darlington sent in two reports—one for April, 1937, and one for October, 1937—the former running to 48 pages and the latter to 42, both exclusive of advertisements, of which there are a few at the beginning and end of each volume, but none interfering with the matter.

The April issue, after describing the constitution of the Town Council, explains the manner of preparing the estimates, and then sets out, quite shortly, the work and estimated expenditure of each committee, the charges for water, gas, electricity and burials, full information as to health services, a clear and detailed statement of the estimates under the headings of the various services, and a map of the borough, showing, *inter alia*, the public telephones.

The October issue deals with the completed accounts for the year ended 31st March, 1937. The different branches of the Council's work are again touched upon, but the information is brought up to date and figures are given showing comparisons with previous years. The map in this issue shows the situation of the twelve parks. Both issues are well illustrated, and each has a good picture on the outer cover.

It is a most important point that copies of the Darlington reports are distributed to every ratepayer.

A similar volume, issued by Darlington in August, 1938, gives information of the same nature as the others, compares Darlington's rate expenditure for 1937-38 with the average of 84 county boroughs, and contains a well-illustrated personal appeal with regard to air raid precautions. Over 23,000 copies of this report were personally delivered to the ratepayers by the Corporation's own employees, who

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were accompanied by a loud-speaker van announcing the delivery of the "Record." In cases where the ratepayer occupied premises containing public waiting rooms, an extra copy was left with a request that this might be placed at the disposal of the public.

For the 1938 competition a very good report was sent in by Leicester. It was rather more of the character of a handbook than an annual report, and it runs to as much as 132 pages, but it contains statistical information for the previous year as regards various departments and a number of really admirable charts and graphs as well as numerous illustrations.

No other report remotely resembling those of Darlington has been sent in for the competition or has come to my notice. Birmingham and Manchester each publish compendious volumes of some 300 pages (including quantities of advertisements interspersed throughout), which are admirably compiled and contain a vast amount of interesting information, but are hardly likely to be read by "the man in the street"—who, indeed, is unlikely to get a copy unless he pays for it or consults it in the public library. Even then, those who are not accustomed to reading literature of this description are unlikely to be able to extract the salient facts which it is important that they should know.

Indeed, these reports seem to be addressed much less to the Birmingham or Manchester ratepayer than to persons outside, as is evidenced by the fact that, of the 10,000 copies printed of the Birmingham Handbook for 1936-37, 2,330 were distributed to delegates to conferences, meetings, etc., 960 to the press, consuls, chambers of commerce, libraries, etc., and 2,100 from the stand of the City Information Bureau at the British Industries Fair. Of the Manchester Handbook, about 3,500 copies actually reach the citizens, in addition to 1,000 despatched to the schools for use in general knowledge tests "when stocks permit" and 1,000 to the public libraries.

It should be added, however, that Manchester issues other publications than this. *Money Talks* is an excellent booklet of 11 pages prepared by the City Treasurer "with the object of giving a broad outline of the finances of the city" for the "average person."

A number of towns issue (not annually) elaborate publications for purposes of advertisement, but this, of course, is an entirely different matter. The centenary of local government led to a number of local authorities bringing out special volumes for the occasion, intended to arouse public interest in the subject; but these, again, are very different from annual reports on the year's working of the council.

Apart from general reports, we find in many towns booklets, pamphlets and even leaflets dealing with one or another branch of

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administration. Some of these are issued periodically, such as the "Ratepayers' Index" of Watford (for which 3d. is charged), and a somewhat similar publication by the Barry U.D.C. Others are useful little publications to be kept for reference—a good instance is that of the Oxford booklet on *The Public Health Services of the Corporation*, which resembles very closely one issued by the County Borough of Barnsley. Some towns bring out a *Municipal Tenants' Handbook*, usually containing much information of value to persons other than municipal tenants.

It must be repeated, however, that the only complete annual report of a kind likely to appeal to the average man which has come to hand from any English town is that of Darlington, and it looks very much as if this had been modelled on an American pattern, especially as reference is made in it to the annual report of Berkeley, California, which, in 1936, tied with Cincinnati for first place in the American competition for the best report. It may be said that the Darlington publication resembles that of Berkeley very closely in general arrangement, get-up, and even in size.

Undoubtedly the American cities do much more than ours to bring their affairs annually to the attention of their citizens, and this is particularly noticeable in the style of the annual reports. The city managers or mayors of a number of cities have been kind enough to send me copies, a few particulars of which are given in the following table:—

City	State	Population	Title of Publication	Pages	Size in Inches
Albert Lea ...	Minnesota ...	11,500	Annual Report, 1937 ...	36	6 × 3½
Auburn ...	Maine ...	18,579	Municipal Services, 1937	59	9 × 6
Austin ...	Texas ...	53,120	Municipal Report, 1935...	61	9 × 6
Bangor ...	Maine ...	30,000	Municipal Report, 1936...	61	9 × 6
Berkeley ...	California ...	99,000	Municipal Activities, 1937	48	9 × 6
Charlotte ...	N. Carolina ...	94,000	Civic Affairs, 1935-36 ...	48	9 × 6
Cincinnati ...	Ohio ...	473,421	Civic Affairs, 1936-37 ...	48	9 × 6
Dallas ...	Texas ...	260,475	Annual Report, 1936-37	58	9 × 6
Dayton ...	Ohio ...	200,982	Annual Report, 1936 ...	75	9 × 6
Fort Worth ...	Texas ...	163,000	Annual Report, 1936 ...	50	10 × 6½
Long Beach ...	California ...	170,000	Civic Report, 1937 ...	64	9 × 6
Milwaukee ...	Wisconsin ...	610,000	Annual Report, 1936-37	78	9 × 6
Norfolk ...	Virginia ...	129,710	Annual Report, 1936-37	58	9 × 6
Pasadena ...	California ...	82,532	Municipal Activities, 1935	157	9½ × 6
Portland ...	Oregon ...	302,000	Municipal Activities, 1936	127	9 × 7½
Sacramento ...	California ...	113,239	Civic Affairs, 1936 ...	51	9 × 6
Schenectady ...	New York ...	95,652	Annual Report, 1936-37	55	9½ × 6
Trenton ...	New Jersey ...	123,356	Civic Review, 1937 ...	72	9 × 6
Two Rivers ...	Wisconsin ...	12,800	Municipal Progress, 1937	83	9 × 6
			Your City Govt., 1937 ...	56	9 × 6
			Annual Report, 1937 ...	48	9½ × 6½
			Annual Report, 1936 ...	52	9 × 6

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It will be observed that in make-up most of these reports comply with the criteria laid down for the "annual appraisal of municipal reports," which has been carried on by the *National Municipal Review* (of U.S.A.) for ten years. These criteria include the following:—

- (1) Publication soon after the end of the period covered—six weeks as a maximum.
- (2) Size preferably 6 inches by 9 inches. Fifty pages maximum length.
- (3) Emphasis on more important facts by change of type or by artistic presentation.
- (4) Cover, title, introduction and general appearance should aim to attract the reader and encourage further examination.
- (5) Diagrams and charts effectively presented, a few well-chosen maps and a liberal supply of relevant pictures.
- (6) Short table of contents and organisation chart.
- (7) A comparison of past recommendations with the progress toward their execution.
- (8) A summary of outstanding accomplishments and recommendations for the future.
- (9) Statistics, comparative data and financial statements.
- (10) "The material should show a complete picture, and each activity should occupy space in proportion to its relative importance."

The final sentence in the list of "criteria" runs: "Photographs of officials, especially of administrators, seem out of place in a public report." This point of view does not seem to appeal to all the cities. Most of them comply with it, but the Trenton Report is one which contains a whole series of portraits.

The municipal report, it is suggested, "is more than an example of the printer's art. It should attempt to provide the data which will aid the citizens to answer the question whether they are getting their money's worth from governmental expenditures." A new schedule is being devised from this point of view, and the International City Managers' Association issued in November last a "tentative draft" of specifications for the annual report. I must say that it seems to me that these specifications would greatly increase the size of the annual reports, which is contrary to the expressed desire of the Association.

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To revert to the reports themselves, I should like to draw attention to certain special characteristics in a few of them.

The Albert Lea Report is, it will be observed, exceptionally small, but it contains a remarkable amount of information and also illustrations and graphs. The "Foreword by the Mayor" is specially interesting, since it indicates the American attitude of mind towards a local authority. The Foreword commences thus: "The City of Albert Lea, a Corporation, through its Board of Directors, the City Council, presents to you citizen stockholders the ninth annual report under the Council-Manager charter," and later on the Mayor says: "In behalf of the City Council, I extend to you, as in the past, an invitation to attend council meetings. Your interest and advice, I can assure you, will be appreciated and is essential in assisting us to solve the many civic problems which confront us."

A number of the reports, after a page or so of "high lights"—that is to say, the chief things accomplished during the year, including actual improvements, reductions in tax rate, fire losses, crime, infant mortality, etc., important changes of any kind in administrative methods and so on—and of "recommendations for the future," give a brief account of the working of each department, with the number of employees, full-time and part-time, and the expenditure in that department. The actual financial position is usually made as clear as possible by means of graphs. The Portland Report makes an ingenious pictorial comparison between the amount spent daily by each citizen on milk and that spent by him on all local government services—the latter proving less than the former.

The Berkeley Report is often quoted as a model. That for 1935-36 starts with a chart of the "functional organisation," which is followed by a list of the city officials (which includes the nine members of the city council) and the city manager's "letter of transmittal," which is a short general statement. Then we have the various items mentioned above as usual in such reports with striking sub-headings. Thus, under the main head "City Manager's Department," we find the sub-heads: "Annual Report Wins Again," "Other Governmental Units Assisted," "Credit Union Studied,"; under the main head, "Purchasing and Budget Department," the sub-heads: "Not a Penny Borrowed," "We Pay Cash," "Expenditures Always under Budget"; under the main head "Health Department," the sub-heads: "Visiting Nurses' Record Praised," "Old Man Stork is Back at Work," "Milk Consumption Increases," "Better Rodent Control." The city auditor (who, by the way, is a woman) shows on one page "Where the City got its Money" and "What the City's Money was Spent for," and on a second page gives clearly the city's balance sheet. A note is appended to the effect that

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the annual report of the city auditor may be obtained at the city hall. The report contains a quantity of excellent illustrations, as well as graphs, and not a single advertisement.

With few exceptions (Milwaukee, Portland) the American reports on my list are issued by "city manager" cities. It would certainly seem to be the case that more is done to keep touch with the public in cities which have adopted the city manager system than elsewhere, but that impression may be due to the fact that, thanks to the activities of the International City Managers' Association, Chicago, more is known about the working of those cities than of any others. I must in any case admit that the information which I have obtained on this subject from America is mostly from that source and especially from the results of an inquiry conducted by the Association in 1934 on "How City Managers Maintain Contact with the Public."

The local Press is of course much used in the United States and I find it stated that "the only city managers who do not give regular interviews in the Press are those in cities that do not have local papers. Managers interview reporters 'as often as they come in,' once a day in most cities and twice a day in cities that have both morning and afternoon papers." On the other hand, a number of managers "prepare written releases or have department heads prepare them for their approval and release."

I myself observed in one city—and I think it is to be found in others—that the Press had a room of their own in the city hall and that their representatives sat there constantly waiting and hoping for some bit of news which would lend itself to a startling headline, but taking little interest in the ordinary doings of the municipality. I am afraid that this attitude of mind on the part of reporters is not uncommon (and I am not referring only to the United States) and that this qualifies the usefulness of the local Press as a means of "putting across" local government to the public.

The city manager, however, does not by any means confine his interviews to the representatives of the Press. The report on the inquiry mentioned above states that "nearly all of the 111 city managers reporting have an 'open door' policy of meeting the public during office hours. While an appointment is not necessary, those who have taken this trouble are interviewed at the time set and the other callers await their turn." From one-fourth to one-third of the city manager's time is spent in this way and the larger the city the more time is devoted to it.

Of the 111 city managers replying to the inquiry, all except six accepted invitations to speak before civic and other groups, including rotary clubs, civic and fraternal groups, chambers of commerce, women's clubs, miscellaneous luncheon clubs, church societies, high

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school groups, parent-teachers' associations, service groups and improvement associations. Of course political and controversial questions are avoided, the addresses being usually confined to municipal activities, local finance or the work of the various departments.

Eleven council manager cities have had considerable success with "open house," when the public are invited to attend in order to see the municipal departments at work. As an instance may be mentioned Oakland, California, which held an open house day in August, 1932, and August, 1933, with an attendance of about 8,000 at each. Exhibits consisted of literature, charts and models showing the activities of the different departments. It is usual for the chief officials to attend and explain the work of their particular branches. It is interesting to note that one town is described as "so small that all our movements are open house," and another as "so small that every inhabitant visits the office several times a year."

Six or seven city managers have used motion pictures as a means of public reporting and the managers of nineteen cities make use of the radio for the purpose.

In reply to the question: "What method or methods of reporting does your experience indicate to be most successful in your city?" seventy out of 104 city managers state that local newspapers are the best medium because news is reported promptly and a large number of citizens are reached without cost to the city. As the city manager of Wichita, Kansas, picturesquely puts it: "One paper to fight you and one to defend you, sure puts it over to the public."

After local newspapers, the most popular media among city managers, in order of preference, are talks before civic groups and other organisations, annual reports and leaflets, personal contacts and radio broadcasts.

In Germany strenuous efforts are being made to interest the general public in their own local government, although (perhaps because) they have been deprived of any responsible participation in it. From an authoritative source in Berlin I have obtained some interesting information as to the methods adopted for this purpose. These methods include:—

- (1) Statistical year-books.
- (2) Statistical monthly or quarterly reports.
- (3) Official circulars which the larger cities in particular issue weekly.
- (4) Reports of individual departments of the administration.
- (5) The local Press.

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Some samples of these different types of publication have been sent me, but I find only one which in the least resembles the American annual reports. This comes from Heidenheim, a town of about 27,000 inhabitants, runs to 79 pages, measures 8 in. by 5.8 in., contains many illustrations and touches upon practically everything relevant to the development of the town.

The "Kreis" or county of Wesermünde brings out a large size volume of 125 pages, of which about 20 are advertisements, but this is much more like the Christmas number of a magazine than a municipal report. The very attractive monthly *Münchener Mosaik* is practically an art journal (published by the municipal department for "Kultur") and gives no information about the government of Munich.

A number of towns issue, weekly or monthly, periodicals which contain mainly official notices, statistics and so forth. That they give information as to the local administration cannot be denied, but they are very dry reading.

One publication which has reached me is *Das Rathaus* ("The Town Hall") of Frankfort-on-the-Main. There is nothing to show whether or not this is an official publication, but almost all the articles in it are written by local officials and relate to some branch of the local administration. It is a monthly periodical, and the number for June, 1938, commences with an article entitled "Local Government, the Press and the Public," which has an immediate bearing on the point we are now considering.

After referring to the difficulty of getting the public to take an interest in their own local government, the writer says that it is in the first place the business of the burgomaster to do all he can to arouse this interest, but that next to him comes the Press. The point, however, upon which I wish to lay stress for the moment is the writer's reference to a circular issued by the Minister of the Interior on the 12th April, 1938. This circular relates to the official publications of local authorities. It states that since these publications reach only a restricted circle, they are not calculated to bring about the close relation between the local authority and the public which is desired. These are therefore to be discontinued except in the large cities and, it would appear, to be discouraged even there. This policy is partly due to the need for economy in "raw material" (presumably paper).

To return to the communication which I received from Berlin, my correspondent points out that "publicity" for the communal administration is definitely required by the *Deutsche Gemeindeordnung* (Local Government Act), but that the provisions of the Act merely supply a framework, which must be filled in by the local administration, in particular the burgomaster. He says that in recent

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years it has become the practice to hold public sittings of the communal councillors and also public meetings several times in the year, at which the burgomaster gives an account of his stewardship. In a number of German towns there have been instituted certain days of the week when one of the councillors or chief officials will grant interviews to citizens in the town hall. In others, and especially in small communes, evening meetings are held, at which the burgomaster or one of his officials, councillors and ratepayers discuss the affairs of the commune.

As regards the Press, it has already been mentioned that this is looked upon as one of the chief media for the information of the public and, of the publications sent me, several are ordinary local daily papers, which are adopted as the local organ of the administration. In Germany, however, the papers are not allowed to say just what they like. In the article from the Frankfort *Das Rathaus* from which I have already quoted, the writer states that all articles on communal affairs must be submitted to the municipal publicity department for approval ("and the independence of the Press will not be prejudiced thereby!") and that "of course" it is required of the Press that only writers who have been educated in communal politics shall be concerned with the preparation of articles and reports on the subject.

Turning now to the question what more might be done in this country than is done at present to bring about an active public interest in local government, I should like to refer to the Coronation Essay Competition set up by N.A.L.G.O. in 1937 for the twelve best suggestions on "how to make known to the community during Coronation year, the debt in public well-being which any given city, town or village owes to local government" and to the winning essay by Mr. Norman K. Rogers, published in *Local Government Service* for July, 1937.

Mr. Rogers' suggestions do not all apply solely to Coronation year and I propose to refer to a few of those which are of a more general character. His proposals for the institution of a "National Council of Civics" and a "National Exhibition of Local Government" are interesting and well worked out, but I think that we are concerned here with the more local kind of action.

Quite a number of English towns—Oxford included—have organised civic exhibitions, the attendance at which have shown that they are highly appreciated and which must therefore serve a useful purpose. I am able to show a number of photographs of the splendid centenary exhibition of Manchester and also a few of the Gateshead exhibition held early this year, which I think is worthy of special mention.

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Gateshead is a great industrial county borough inhabited almost exclusively by the working classes. Its rateable value per head of population is only £4 8s. 5d., while that of Manchester is £8 16s. 5d. and that of Oxford £11 2s. 11d.

Yet, in spite of its poverty, Gateshead put up an exhibition which gave a wonderful manifestation of the municipal services and published a 64-page descriptive booklet, of which 15,000 copies were distributed from door to door throughout the borough. Eight free shows of films were given, each followed by a lecture by a department chief. School teachers subsequently gave special lessons on the exhibition. Nearly 13,000 people visited it during the first week and so great was the interest in it that the hours during which it was open had to be extended. And thanks to the voluntary labour the whole cost was £20.

To return, however, to Mr. Rogers' suggestions, I should like to draw attention to his proposal of a local "Director of Civics," who should undertake (a) local research, (b) organisation of lectures, displays, demonstrations, etc., (c) establishment of contact between local organised sections of the community, (d) co-ordination of educational services with a view to stimulating civic interest, (e) use of local Press.

It certainly seems most desirable that all this should be done, but the question is, who is to do it? It is clear that only the large towns could afford to set up a special official for this purpose, but I agree with Mr. Rogers that it would be greatly in their own interests, as well as in those of culture generally, if they would do so.

As regards other authorities, the problem is a difficult one. I am inclined to think that the American city manager is required to devote too much of his time to these "contacts" with the public—and I am quite sure that many of the city managers themselves are of the same opinion. But here, as in so many respects, I think that Great Britain and the United States are at opposite extremes. If the American officials are required to give too much time to this, the British officials give too little. Our town clerks, generally speaking, are still looked upon as merely the legal advisers of the council—a completely erroneous idea of what should be their position, not only from my personal point of view, but as pointed out years ago by the Ministry of Health and, more recently, by the Hadow Committee. And the attitude of the town clerk towards communication with the public is naturally reflected in that of the other principal officials.

Of course there are many instances in which local officials do attend public gatherings and speak on the activities of their authorities or of particular departments—Barnett House has reason to be well aware of this—but I think that the practice might be much more

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widely extended and more officially recognised. A division of labour in this respect would mean that no one officer was overburdened and that in the smaller places, at any rate, a special " Director of Civics " would not be needed. Moreover, aldermen and councillors should take part in this work—as, indeed, they sometimes do.

As regards the " use of the local Press," much of what I have said about the position of this question in America applies here also. I should, however, like here to give an " unsolicited testimonial " to the Oxford Press. It is my opinion that the reports of the proceedings of the city council in the *Oxford Mail* and the *Oxford Times* are excellently done. It is, of course, not to be expected or desired, that any paper should give a verbatim report of such proceedings, and it is often the case that the reporter extracts from speeches merely phrases which catch the eye without any reference to the context. The Oxford papers do, on the contrary, fairly give the gist of each speech, or quote the most important sentences, and thus correctly represent to the public each speaker's point of view. But what we do not know, is how far the public reads these reports, and I think that the editor would be doing a real public service if he could find this out and make it known.

Other suggestions by Mr. Rogers are the holding of " civic weeks," and the use of elementary and secondary schools (including lecture talks, mock council meetings, civic clubs, visits to municipal undertakings, essay competitions and library talks). These are all good, but the school question is so large a one that it is impossible to deal with it here. I would only say that it seems to me that, although quantities of books on " civics " and " citizenship " have been published in recent years, there is still a need for simpler and more attractive school books on this subject and especially for such as relate to the locality.

The " humanising " of the rate demand note, says Mr. Rogers, is no new idea, but he suggests that it could be used to great effect for " pushing home " to the ratepayer the value of the use of the services for which he is paying. This, it seems, would be an inexpensive alternative to the annual report, such as I have previously described, and is altogether to be commended where the authority is unable or unwilling to incur the expense of the larger publication. Mr. Rogers suggests also the issue from time to time of " civic interest circulars " of the kind which I have already mentioned.

One other suggestion of Mr. Rogers, I feel that, here in Oxford, I must not ignore. It is that " the Universities be invited to co-operate in " making known " to the community by introducing the subject of local government or civics into their extension lecture courses," and he goes on to say: " Indeed, taking the suggestion

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a step further, diplomas in Civics might be awarded and . . . enthusiastic municipal officers could, after an 'Extension Course' or a similar course arranged by N.A.L.G.O., graduate as lecturers in Civics." I hope that the Diploma and Certificate in Public Administration, recently established here, do something to meet Mr. Rogers' suggestion, and that other than "enthusiastic municipal officers" will take advantage of them.

Most of what I have said up to the present relates to the position in the large towns, where a considerable population is concentrated within a limited—though often extensive—area. In the country districts there are greater difficulties in getting local government access to the people.

It could not be expected of the county officials that they should be constantly addressing meetings in all parts of their counties, nor can the inhabitants of the towns and villages at a distance from the county centres be expected to go there either to attend lectures or to interview officials.

I see no reason why the county councils should not issue brief and attractive annual reports on the same lines as I have suggested for the towns, but these could not be distributed free to every county elector—the cost would be prohibitive. The unwillingness of county councils generally to do anything of this kind is illustrated by their attitude towards a project of the County Councils' Association for celebrating in the present year the jubilee of county councils. This project was the publication of a brief and readable account of the functions of county councils generally, to which it was suggested that each county council should add an account of its own activities, thus forming a special volume for each county, which the county council should distribute to all the children in its schools. This seemed an admirable way of bringing the matter home to the people (for it might be supposed that the children would show the volume to their parents), and it is surprising that only 32 out of the 61 administrative counties adopted this scheme—and I regret to say that Oxfordshire was not one of them.

In view of these difficulties it seems to me that the county councils must rely mainly on the local Press for making their activities known, but I do think that it should not be left solely to reporters attending council meetings or to reviews of official publications by the editorial staff. I do not see why each county council should not make it the duty of one of their officers (a full-time one if necessary) to feed the local papers with interesting articles, explanatory notes, and so forth, and also to supply the necessary information to any persons who will address meetings in any part of the county.

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Such meetings might be held in the small towns and even in the villages, and might be addressed by local representatives on the county, district or parish councils. In the small boroughs or urban districts something might be done, on modified lines, of the same kind as I have suggested for the larger towns—here the officials might often assist. It would not be so easy for them, though not altogether impossible, in the rural districts.

My idea is, though, that when any such meeting is held in a small borough, an urban or rural district, its subject matter should not be confined to the strictly local affairs, but should include those of the county council.

In the rural parishes, the parish meeting is an institution which might well be used for this purpose. Where there is a parish council, its members might well be called upon to give an account of their activities more than once a year, and discussions upon them might be encouraged, while at the same time consideration might be given to the doings of the rural district council and the county council.

Of course, the establishment of rural community councils has done much to arouse interest in certain aspects of county government, and the parish councils' service which has been set up in a number of counties, including Oxfordshire, is having the same good effect as regards the work of parish councils. I still think, however, that it is the members of local authorities who are mainly reached in this way, and that more needs to be done to bring the matter home to the people in general.

Women's Institutes, the Workers' Educational Association, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, are all helpful, but it is essential that all bodies of this description should receive active support (and I do not mean merely subscriptions, though they are valuable) from council members and officers in each locality.

As an instance of what may be done, I have a copy of a social survey carried out by a W.E.A. class in an Oxfordshire rural parish (Sandhill)—an admirable effort, which might well be widely copied.

But, to come back to the question with which we began—how can you get people to *want* to know more about local government than they do? It is no use to arrange lectures or meetings if no one will come to them. In any case, I fear that few people in this country (it is different in America) will attend lectures on general principles. They will be attracted only—if at all—by concrete questions which affect them personally. If this is true, every effort should be made to convince the public that the activities of their local council do

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affect them personally, that it is in their own interests desirable that they should really understand what it is that the council is doing and why, and that they should then make known to the council their views upon the subject. It should prove possible to bring people to meetings for this purpose. If so, they might then be induced to see the importance of comparing their own local administration with that which exists elsewhere, and this would mean a political education which would make local self-government a reality.

Educational Standards and Differential Recruitment to the Public Service

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*[The Winning Essay in the Sir George Murray Essay
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I.—INTRODUCTORY. II.—PRE-ENTRY OR POST-ENTRY SPECIALISATION. III.—THE CASE FOR DIFFERENTIAL RECRUITMENT. IV.—A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS: THE CRITICS. V.—A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS: THE DEVOTEES. VI.—A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS: ESSENTIAL FEATURES. VII.—A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS: METHOD OF RECRUITMENT.

I

“DIFFERENTIAL recruitment” is a phrase to indicate recruitment into separate classes of the Public Service by setting up different tests and standards of qualification for entry according to well-defined distinctions between the nature and quality of the work to be performed by those classes. This principle is readily accepted by almost all interested persons as applicable to certain types of work in the Australian public services—as, for example, the professional work of engineers, chemists and agricultural scientists, or that of school teachers, as opposed to the clerical work performed by the vast body of officers in the so-called “administrative” branches and departments. In recent years, however, there

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have been conflict and confusion of views as to the extension of the principle towards equally radical distinctions within the classes usually lumped together here as "clerical" or "administrative." This question is neither trivial nor dead. Although the principle of differential recruitment to the clerical classes of the Civil Service was laid down as long ago as 1855 in England, and has since become one of the unshakable foundations of public service personnel policy in that country, suggestions for its introduction to Australia have been greeted with indignant protests by the officers themselves, and often with scepticism or indifference by department heads and public service controlling agencies. Yet the latter have been giving it partial and grudging recognition by the modification of rules and practices which till recently had almost completely excluded university graduates from the ranks of public service clerical recruits.

It is suggested that a balanced view of the matter involves recognition of the close inter-relation between the problems of differential recruitment and the questions of pre- or post-entry specialised training for the Service and of the co-ordination of public service recruitment with the country's educational systems. To examine these questions fully is far beyond the compass of this paper. It will not be possible adequately to discuss either the arguments for and against pre-entry specialised training or the problems of correlating recruitment for professional, clerical and routine work with the existing educational system. These questions will only be touched on briefly, as illustrations of the principle of differential recruitment, and to give perspective to the discussion of this principle in its application to the proposal for a separate administrative class in the public services of Australia, to which the major portion of the paper will be devoted.

II

In all of the Australian Public Services the educational qualifications for entry to the lowest grades of each "division" are similar. For manipulative and manual work, typing and machine operating, an elementary test of spelling and arithmetic is usually applied, and in some cases accompanied by a simple practical test in the particular work in question, *e.g.*, typing. The qualifications for entry to the teaching services vary according as primary or secondary teachers are to be recruited, but are fairly exacting—specialised training in the technique of teaching follows after entry to the Service. Appointment to the "professional" divisions is in the great majority of cases by competitive interview based on pre-existing professional and technical qualifications; that is, "recruitment from without" is the rule with regard to these positions. This practice is, of course, based

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on the assumption that specialist work requires special pre-entry training, where this can be supplied by the ordinary education system.

It has never been questioned, however, whether the "professional" occupations consist solely of doctors, engineers, chemists, and the like. The "professional administrator" is unknown to the Australian Public Services.

It has been suggested that the present methods of recruiting specialist officers have been forced upon the State as employer by the professional trade unions. These succeeded, firstly, in the establishment of their professional status; secondly, in devising an acknowledged standard of professional knowledge and skill, and thirdly, in erecting fences around their close preserves.

But the idea of such a "preserve" for the administrative specialist is still regarded with suspicion. The prevailing theory is that a "general" education inculcates the capacity for the efficient performance of the clerical duties of most branches of the Public Service. The present method of recruitment for the clerical branches of the Service is designed to secure moderately well-educated candidates whose mental ability the Service then proceeds to adapt to more or less specialised conditions.

In 1914 the MacDonnell Royal Commission on the Civil Service of Great Britain urged that the public service should "gather the natural fruits of the educational system of the country in its various stages as they mature."¹ Are there any other fruits to gather? So long as the recruitment of the general clerical and administrative classes of the Service continues to be based upon examinations covering general educational curricula (with trimmings in certain cases), the age of entry and the education of candidates are really pre-determined by the educational system. Indeed, for the majority of ordinary clerical employees in the public services, it seems clear that recruitment by a moderate test of general cultural background, or the completion of a well-defined stage in the secondary educational curriculum, is appropriate.

III

The question of differential recruitment is bound up, but is not identical, with that of pre- *versus* post-entry specialisation. Because it is universally admitted that pre-entry specialisation should be required of recruits to "professional" positions in the Service, a policy of differential recruitment is followed as between these positions and the general clerical positions discussed above. Here there is a clear line of demarcation between the types of work performed. When clerical-administrative positions alone are considered, however, it is

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not nearly so widely agreed that the work of a permanent head requires qualities and knowledge not only more fully developed than, but of a different nature from, those necessary for the performance of routine duties. If the advancement of this view meets with various forms of opposition, the attempt to draw lines of distinction between those duties meets more numerous difficulties of a practical nature. The questions to be answered are:—

1. To what extent can differential recruitment within the "clerical" classes be justified by the varying nature of the work?
2. To the extent that it can, where should dividing lines logically be drawn?
3. Can these be reconciled with definite stages in the educational system, and how?

These questions received much attention from the classical series of commissions and committees which have inquired into the administration of the English Civil Service. Although differing from the views expressed in their reports in several important respects, the conclusions of this paper are in part inspired by a careful examination of them. In view of the weight and length of experience they embody, it is felt that much of the testimony contained therein could not be usefully augmented, short of conducting a minute examination of the particular service to which it were desired to apply the general principles they have laid down.

Of these the most definite is that there is a clear "distinction between the higher, or administrative, and lower or clerical functions of the Service."² The Playfair Commission, as early as 1875, emphasised their conviction that "there is no other possible way . . . of providing for the range of work which exists in public offices, than by making a distinction between those classes of clerks who do the higher and more responsible work and those who do the inferior work."³ The Ridley Commission, while emphasising the need for "men of more liberal culture in order to discharge satisfactorily the consultative and deliberative work" (*i.e.*, "duties more nearly akin to those of management"⁴) also asserted that under a proper organisation the ratio between the numbers of such men and of men required for purely clerical duties would necessarily differ in different offices; that in some offices "First Division men need not be employed at all; and that where both classes of civil servants were employed, a strict line could and ought to be drawn between the two divisions."⁵

With this general principle as a basis, the classification of the

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English Service was reviewed several times in the years that followed, and finally the Reorganisation Committee of 1920, whose views were put into effect, and were quoted and accepted as criteria by the Tomlin Commission in 1929, laid it down that the administrative and clerical work of the Service could "be said, broadly, to fall into two main categories. In one category may be placed all such work as either is of a simple mechanical kind or consists in the application of well-defined regulations, decisions and practice to particular cases; in the other category, the work which is concerned with the formation of current regulations and decisions, and with the organisation and direction of the business of government."⁶ In accordance with the Committee's recommendations, the clerical service was reorganised into the following main classes:—

1. A "writing assistant" class, for simple mechanical work; and
2. A clerical class, for the better sort of work included in the first category described above;
3. An executive class; and
4. An administrative class, for work included in the second main category.

Only the blindly intransigent can any longer dispute the validity of the distinction between policy-applying and policy-forming work. This paper is chiefly concerned with recruitment for the latter, which is now reserved in England for the famous "First Division" or Administrative Class, the direct descendant of the Class I of the 1870 Order-in-Council, the members of which were to be highly qualified University men, recruited "to fill directly some of the more important posts of the public service, and to be trained there for selection to the highest permanent posts."⁷

In view of the desirability of freeing administrative officers from the irritation of routine work, of the evidence given before the English Commissions as to the relatively few men of lower divisions who have proved themselves suitable for the highest duties, and of the cases all interested observers can recall of the effects on administrative capacity and initiative of keeping a man at subordinate work for a large proportion of his official life, only allowing him to reach positions of responsibility when he is almost ready for superannuation, it is not necessary to dilate further upon the justifications for an administrative class, distinct from others, recruited separately, trained from the beginning for administrative work, and attractive of the best talent available because definite prospects can be held out to successful candidates of reaching a worth-while position.

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With regard to the other divisions of the clerical service, an examination of the English reports shows the irrational lengths to which the attempt to divide this work, and to segregate the officers accordingly, may be carried.⁸ The fact that each body of inquirers found many things wrong with the classifications in existence, indicates the difficulties and anomalies that almost inevitably spring from carrying that attempt too far. The obvious lesson to be drawn from English experience is that some classification is necessary and salutary, but that it should be kept as broad and simple as possible.

The ultimate validity of the principle of differential recruitment cannot be gainsaid, where there is a clearly-marked gulf between types of work requiring quite different qualities; but unless such a gulf is readily discernible, there are at least two very strong reasons for refraining from instituting divisions in the Service. The first is the confusion resulting from the difficulties of demarcation, necessitating constant revision of classification and often of salary scales, as has already been amply illustrated by the series of reorganisations in England. The second is the discontent which always makes itself felt among the more active spirits in subordinate divisions, and the corresponding loss of efficiency through cramped incentive due to the restriction of the anticipated area of promotion. The main arguments for differential recruitment are the opportunities it offers for tapping all sections of the education system, and the need to protect those destined for high responsibility from the deadening effects of work of an emphatically inferior quality. Where there is a gradual progression of difficulty in a series of grades devoted to ordinary clerical work, with a certain amount of responsibility, authority, and even slightly more exacting technical requirements in the upper grades, there seems to be a *prima facie* case for the retention of a single general clerical class, especially if that class is itself protected from purely mechanical and routine work in its lower grades, as suggested below. The executive work within the restricted limits of such a class, moreover, will usually be more efficiently performed by those who by experience have become acquainted with all the ramifications and technicalities of the duties therein. This class should be recruited by competitive examination at the Leaving (not Intermediate) standard.

No doubt there is work of a special nature in certain departments which could not satisfactorily be performed by ordinary clerical officers, but that is a matter which cannot be argued *a priori*. The detection of and provision for the needs of such work can only be accomplished by a minute survey of the Service itself, and while

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it may be found that there is justification for the establishment of special "departmental classes" such as are used in England, that conclusion should not be adopted before the hypothesis is tested that the needs in question can be adequately met by the usual methods of recruitment and employment of ordinary technical and professional officers.

There is, again, considerable justification for the separation of purely mechanical and routine work from ordinary clerical work, and therefore for the establishment of a "writing assistant class." The arguments for differential recruitment apply here, in that not only is it feasible to make a fairly definite demarcation of routine work, but also there exists a large class of people suitable for recruitment to such a division, because they lack either the ability or the ambition to proceed beyond the conditions and remuneration of work requiring little initiative and resource, involving no worrying personal responsibility, and yet affording a reasonably agreeable occupation with security of tenure. Such a class could be recruited by competitive examination at compulsory school leaving age.

IV

It is now possible to consider in more detail the special question of recruiting a separate administrative class. Not only Royal Commissions but Civil Service authorities and the higher public servants themselves, in England, have unanimously asserted the benefit to the Service of recruiting such a class from University graduates in the "humanistic" studies. The only objectors to the system there, and its chief opponents here, have been those directly interested in the removal of a barrier* to higher salaries, namely, the ordinary clerical officers' associations. But these bodies, and other critics in Australia, including politicians, many departmental heads, and, in earlier years, the Public Service Boards themselves, have adduced serious arguments in support of their opposition, and it would be frivolous to dismiss these arguments without examination, as so many 'Varsity-phil advocates of reform have done.

In the first place, the ordinary public servant is naturally suspicious of the "dreamy intellectual" who has not lived close to the soil of detailed departmental procedure, whose ideas have

* It should be emphasised that none of the suggestions made herein necessarily preclude the transfer of clerks from a lower to a higher division, provided they fulfil requirements equivalent to those for entry to the higher division. At the same time, the plan outlined below should not be taken to exclude the possibility of recruiting University men *after* graduation in special cases.

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been "got from books," and whose cloistered training has unfitted him for dealing with the exigencies of real-life situations and for working with the average man, from whom he is separated by various forms of snobbishness on one side or the other. The following statements are quoted from a series of interviews which the writer had with representatives of public service officers' associations and departmental heads in N.S.W. during the latter part of 1937.

The most usual views of the former were: "The best type of graduate administrator is the man who comes in as a matriculant and does his University course afterwards"; and again, "the polish, sporting activities and other amenities of a full-time University course are no doubt very good for the individual, but do they make a better officer? Possibly they make him despise the Service." Various department heads offered similar views: "The best training ground for an administrative officer is in a country branch of the . . . Department." (The justification of this statement was the comparatively wide range of duties and substantial amount of personal responsibility there accorded to junior officers.) "Recruitment of graduates is unsuitable if they have to work together with other non-graduate officers. They cannot get on with them."

The typical argument, from the Service point of view, of the anti-graduate recruitment camp, is that it is essential for administrative officers to have had experience of wheeling trays of files about and sorting and delving among the departmental records; and it is contended that that kind of experience cannot be gained by a graduate entering the Service at (say) 22 years, who at that age could not be expected to do the work or receive the salary of a messenger.

Towards the end of 1937, Mr. H. B. Turner, newly elected to the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly as Member for Gordon, delivered a maiden speech in which he advocated the recruitment of University graduates to a special administrative division of the Service. The N.S.W. Public Service Board replied coldly to his eloquence. As reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (19th November, 1937) "the Board's view is that the present practice is very satisfactory and that there is no need for the change suggested. . . . The Board does not overlook the importance of high educational attainments in appointments to the Service. It encourages its employees to carry on their studies at the University and elsewhere to fit them for higher positions." The present practice was to recruit the permanent staff of the clerical division entirely by competitive examination—that is, at the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate examinations. A Minister of the

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Crown at that time said "experience showed that the man who graduated through the Service, rather than the man who graduated through the University, was the more efficient administrator."⁹ If the "present practice" was as stated, how could "experience" show this?

Twelve months later, the N.S.W. Public Service Board in its Annual Report "approved the extension of existing facilities to graduates of Sydney University to enter the Public Service," and asked "to be advised whether the Government is favourably inclined to its proposal for the granting of free University courses to promising junior officers in the administrative sections of the Service."¹⁰ Certain traineeships have already been established for courses in architecture and engineering, in addition to those in agriculture which were established years ago—but these are all for "professional" positions.

As early as 1935, the Council of the Public Service Association of N.S.W. adopted a resolution that "there should be a place for the University graduate in the administrative side of the Service, but they should be admitted only on an equal footing with other appointees and without any special preference; such is the case at present with regard to graduates who obtain technical and scientific positions."¹¹ This view of the Association has since been elaborated in the form of suggested amendments to the regulations governing public service entrance examinations and age-limits, and of advocacy of the extension of the Agriculture Department's cadet system to administrative branches of the Service.

V

The above are some examples of the confused variety of attitudes adopted towards graduate recruitment by those who view it with suspicion. Its confirmed advocates, however, are scarcely more discriminating. The Commonwealth Public Service Board in 1933 secured an amendment of its Act to enable it to recruit not more than 10 per cent. of its clerical (3rd Division) appointees each year from University graduates.¹² These recruits enter the Commonwealth Service according to the principle enunciated by the N.S.W. Public Service Association, at salary rates and in positions equivalent to those of other officers recruited from the Leaving examinations. The positions are advertised each year, and appointees selected by scrutiny of qualifications and interview. In this scheme lip-service is paid to the "Macaulay view" that *any* University graduate can

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be considered a potential administrator, and the Board points with naïve pride to the fact that their scheme is "closely in line" with that suggested in the report of an English Committee on the recruitment of—local government officials!¹³ In citing this English model, the Board unwittingly drew attention to the fact that their scheme by no means compares with the existing English method of graduate recruitment to the public service itself. There is no competitive examination of Honours standard, as in England, nor are special inducements offered to the most brilliant graduates to seek entry to the Service. In fact, graduate recruits to the Commonwealth Service since 1933 have gained promotion with unusual rapidity, compared to recruits from other sources; but even if it were possible to discount bias towards graduates on the part of the Commonwealth Service authorities and department heads (in remarkable contrast to the position in the State services), this would merely show that the graduate recruits proved at least noticeably superior to the Leaving recruits, not that the former were the finest obtainable products of the country's education systems. And the personal views, collected by the writer, of some of those recruits who have entered Commonwealth Departments where the principle of promotion by seniority is still paramount, are illuminating commentaries on the inability of the Public Service in some cases to make effective use of the graduates it does recruit.

In the States, of course, the attitude has hitherto been less liberal than in the Commonwealth. Both the State Public Service Board and the N.S.W. Public Service Association, when they have felt reformist enough to admit the value of University training, have offhandedly suggested that this can easily be obtained by public servants in full-time employment during the day. This attitude has been attacked elsewhere.¹⁴ It ignores the enervating effects on the young officer of evening study, and it fails to recognise that the "Macaulay view" of University training as a qualification for administration is largely based on elements in that training which are almost completely inaccessible to the part-time student.¹⁵

The uncompromising version of the "Macaulay view," however, is almost equally unscientific. It could not take account of developments in the study of administration which are bringing its practice steadily nearer to the realm of specialist professional work. It does not recognise the very real personal and professional embarrassments and difficulties that confront the new-fledged graduate coming direct to a complex and tradition-bound department staffed in the main by medium brains from the secondary schools. It was formulated in a social and political milieu very different from the present Australian

scene, and it has since been supported by persons inevitably biased in its favour by social background, environment and training.

Briefly elaborating these criticisms in order, the first is aimed at the uncritical acceptance of the general statement that *any* University studies of a "wide cultural" character are the ideal background for a potential administrator. Professor Laski, for instance, in the section of his latest book¹⁶ devoted to the English Civil Service, says: "the confinement of the highest posts in the departments to men whose training is, in the best sense, humanistic, has, I think, been the salvation of the Service." Praising the British system in the N.S.W. Parliament a year ago, Mr. Turner, M.L.A., said that the British Civil Service had secured men of wide education. "Can you really suppose that a young man who has read something of the history of Cavour and Bismarck is less able to form an opinion on matters of diplomatic importance at the present time than one who has sat at a desk in a department at Sydney? . . . Can you suppose that a young man who has taken the most academic studies, who has studied Aristotle and the history of democracy in Athens, has not a wider outlook than one who has only sat in an office, absorbing the methods of that office?"¹⁷

The present writer cannot help feeling that this is too glib a justification for the recruitment to the Australian public services of ordinary Arts or Economics graduates of our Universities. Some of the harsh things said about graduates at the interviews previously mentioned were clear warnings of prejudices that would result from indiscriminate recruiting of graduates, merely as graduates, irrespective of their particular aptitudes and qualifications. As will be mentioned below, certain other considerations played an important part in the pronouncements of English commentators on this practice. But the public service can no longer afford to regard "liberal studies" as the best qualification of the future administrator. The time is coming when the administrator will be recruited as a sober professional practitioner, trained in the lore and technique of administration, selected because of that training and because of the aptitude which prompted the acquirement of that training, and expected to carry out administrative work efficiently and specifically just as the engineer is expected to build roads and bridges, specifically and efficiently. It is admitted that this is a novel view to take of the administrative officer. In an article published as recently as May last, a New Zealand administrator defined "professional officers" as "those persons who have qualified by study and training in the practice of medicine, law, engineering, education, and the sciences."¹⁸ No hint appears here that there is anything specialist or professional about administrative work.

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The Public Service Boards have (with some exceptions)* implicitly accepted the latter view in their recruitment policy. It has often been suggested that the framing of our Public Service Acts has been specially directed to excluding graduates from the administrative divisions of the Services. Analysis shows this to be inaccurate. Not the legislation but its administration has been the bar to graduate recruitment to the clerical divisions. Although some Public Service Acts provide that there shall be a "professional" division, they do not all prescribe special methods of recruitment of professional men to these divisions. Most professional officers of the types mentioned above have been recruited as graduates under those provisions of the Public Service Acts which permit the appointment to a position of persons from outside the Service, without examination or age restriction, where it can be shown that there is no officer in the Service with suitable qualifications for that position.

The obvious inference is that the advocates of graduate recruitment consider that administrative positions, at least sometimes, require qualifications that will not ordinarily be found in persons recruited by the usual clerical entrance examinations; while the administrators of the Public Service Acts have not hitherto subscribed to this belief. The engineer, the psychologist, the astronomer, even the lawyer, are regarded as professional men whose training cannot be equalled in the ordinary routine of public office—but the administrator is not so regarded. Anyone who has served his time with diligence and application is qualified, on this view, for promotion to positions of responsibility and command.

Approaching the problem from this point of view, it becomes clear that it is merely a special instance of that wider conflict of contemporary opinion about the relative prestige of the "natural" and "social" sciences. Biology, physics, astronomy, medicine, divide the world into "professionals" and laymen. The latter are content to leave these Eleusynian mysteries to their devotees, and readily admit their incapacity to penetrate the veils. And at the same time they are willing to trust their lives, even their fortunes, to the judgments backed by such technical knowledge.

The notorious conviction of the "man-in-the-street" that he is as competent to appraise economic events as the trained economist painfully exemplifies this lack of confidence in the lore of the social sciences. But this universal trend of public opinion cannot be entirely without foundation. These studies have not as yet provided a body of laws on which practice can be built with the same surety

* *e.g.*, The N.S.W. Public Service Board, which advocated a scheme of graduate recruitment to the clerical division in 1912, 1915 and 1918.

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as that attributed to gravitation—a purely theoretical concept. This large and vitally important question cannot be carried further here,¹⁹ but it is emphatically germane to the present discussion, because the attitude of public service administrators almost up to the present moment towards appointments to directive positions is nothing but a symptom of their conviction that no one, merely by attending a University—or even by studying the existing courses of administration offered at Universities—can acquire a body of knowledge of the kind that gives the trained physician an unmistakable and unquestioned advantage over the layman in probing the intricacies of the human organism. Can it be denied that professional students of administration know considerably less about the social organism?

It is, of course, pertinent to ask whether they, or University graduates in general, know more about it than the Leaving Certificate recruit, but it is still necessary to qualify the trusting confidence in unspecialised academic attainments betrayed by Macaulay's contention that "men who have been engaged, up to one- and two-and-twenty, in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and the effect of which is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found, in the business of every profession, inferior to men who have, at eighteen or nineteen, devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling."²⁰ As Dr. Finer remarks,²¹ it was natural that, in the middle of last century and for decades after that, classics, mathematics, moral philosophy, history and law, which were the chief subjects of University study, should be the only subjects of the Civil Service administrative examination. But these studies continued to bulk very large in that examination even when many new faculties had been established, for "the men who made the recommendations to the Civil Service Commissioners had had their education a generation or two ago, and as educationists were less concerned with administration, which is serviceability, than scholarship, which is the production of mind as mind."²² Dr. Finer's conclusion is at present the only reasonable one: "It is important," he writes, "to insist that it is the method of studying and learning and not the subject of information which is of moment in selection for administration. Yet there is an advantage in studying the social sciences—for there the mind is being trained and the judgment formed through the medium of casual relationships in phenomena which are the immediate background of the services to be administered."²³ Without going the whole way with those fanatics who can see no good in "dead languages," it is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the movement of modern educational thought which is stripping the "humanistic studies" of their *exclusive* claim to provide mental training and culture. As

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the study of administration develops into a science, its inclusion in the educational requirements of administrative recruits becomes more obviously essential.

Having in mind the ever-expanding role which public servants are playing in community life, it seems obvious that the community has a right to demand, firstly, that increasing attention and resources be devoted to encouraging research into the techniques of administration; secondly, that University curricula be progressively modified and enlarged to provide for the public services' need of a stratum of potential administrators having all the advantages of University training and a background of cultural interests and study, together with a sound and wide knowledge and training in the increasingly specialised sphere of their own work. Professional training, based on the natural sciences, has developed independently hitherto, and only now is the need being realised for the infusion of wider cultural interests into that training. Training in social sciences, which are emerging from the "humanistic" side, has the opportunity of acquiring the accuracy and practical usefulness of the physical sciences, while retaining the essential leaven of integrative cultural interests.

Concluding the analysis of the "Macaulay view," it must be admitted by all who have studied them that the English Civil Service reports contain, on analysis, no concrete justification for their repeated approval of the Macaulay principle, in terms of exceptional knowledge or of aptitude for administrative work, or intrinsic psychological endowments on the part of the current members of the administrative class. It is impossible to avoid ascribing the Commissions' satisfaction with the present methods, in part to the educational and social backgrounds of the Commissions' personnel (almost all graduates of the older Universities in humanistic studies), in part to the recognition of the advantages of recruiting that group of civil servants who have most intimate contact with the political representatives (and hence, be it noted, form the area in which the Civil Service exercises a real influence on national policy), from the "governing classes." Robert Lowe, in evidence before the Playfair Commission (1875), actually said that the First Division was necessary, "not because the men were of higher ability, but because through their superior style of education and different ideas, they were fitted for dealing with members of Parliament and people from outside to whom they were socially equal."²⁴ It is significant that Professor Laski should recognise, and even approve of, this principle. In the work already quoted, he too states that "those who govern the Civil Service belong, effectively, to the same social class that rules the House of Commons. Largely they go to the same schools

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and Universities; after admission to the Service, they belong to the same clubs. Their ideas, that is, or rather the assumptions upon which their ideas rest, are the same as those of the men who own the instruments of production in our society. Their success, as a Civil Service, has been mainly built upon that fact." In the new edition of his work on the British Civil Service, Dr. Finer is more critical. He shows that in the six years to 1935, about 60 per cent. of the recruits to the English administrative class came from the great public schools, although such schools have a total of only 15 per cent. of all the secondary school attendance in the country. "Almost all come from the comfortable middle and upper classes." He admits the admirable qualities of these recruits. "But it is questionable whether they can ever easily escape from the sense of superiority unconsciously assimilated in their country or suburban homes and public schools and colleges. They are too alien to their subordinates, perhaps insensitive to impressions from clever "outsiders," and not markedly ruthless in the exposure of incompetence in their own ranks. If their composition included the memory of misery, hunger, squalor, bureaucratic oppression, and economic insecurity, perhaps a quality would be added to their work in the highest situations which could not fail to impress the Minister at a loss for a policy or an argument. How essential it is for the State to be served by all kinds of talents and experience!"²⁵

Three points emerge from consideration of this question. The first is the offence to democratic theory embodied in the recruitment of an exclusive cadre of public servants by criteria which exclude large masses of the population from competition for economic reasons. The principle of open competition is thus violated. The second is the friction and jealousy within the Service, resulting in loss of efficiency, which do arise when secondary school recruits are subordinated from the beginning to men with a different social and cultural background. The third is the actual loss to the Service of potential ability through the working of an undemocratic education system. The work of the Department of Social Biology in the University of London has admirably demonstrated the first and last points for England. Extensive research conducted in primary, secondary and "public" schools by two of the Department's officers, J. L. Gray and Pearl Moshinsky, led them to the conclusion that "the inequality of the distribution of educational facilities in relation to the distribution of educational ability within the several social classes . . . affords no ground for complacency."²⁶ Estimates based on carefully compiled statistics indicated that between 45 per cent. and 59 per cent. of the total number of gifted children in the school population do not enjoy the opportunity of a higher education. None

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of these belonged to the group whose parents were able to afford fees for their children's education. On the other hand, 50 per cent. of those with the opportunity of a higher education were not of the selected standard of ability. "An able fee-paying pupil has a chance of receiving a higher education six or seven times greater than that of an equally able free pupil, while a sub-standard child of the fee-paying group has between 58 and 162 times as great a chance of receiving higher education than a similar child of the free group."²⁷

Further analysis indicated that enormously greater actual numbers of superior children originated in the elementary (free) schools. Present free pupils contain between four and five times as many gifted children as fee-paying pupils. "Taking schools of every social type, we find that the higher social and professional classes contribute only 33 per cent. to the total of exceptional children, while wage-earners are responsible for 50 per cent. The rest come from the shop-keeping and clerical and commercial classes."²⁸

The Research Officer of the N.S.W. Education Department informs the writer that while not such complete results have yet been obtained with regard to New South Wales, existing information at his disposal indicates that the same general position prevails in that State, though probably to a lesser degree.

VI.

A position has now been reached where it is possible to lay down certain fundamental postulates in regard to the proposal to establish differential recruitment to an administrative class in the Australian public services.

1. The general validity of this proposal has been admitted, but it has been shown that such an admission is meaningless unless the exact nature and methods of recruiting the administrative class are defined. The first thing to emphasise about the class is that its numbers will be very small, compared to the total of the clerical classes.* Nothing could be more dangerous to the harmonious working of the Service, nor more wasteful of the funds of the State, than to encourage the growth of a body of officers of exceptional talents and qualifications too numerous for the positions in the Service which actually demanded such qualities. The great bulk of the work in the Service, even to comparatively senior executive positions, can undoubtedly be performed adequately by the best among Leaving Certificate holders in the general clerical division; and this should meet much of the criticism levelled at the creation of a monopoly of high positions for the educationally privileged.

* The proportion in England is about 1,200 to 400,000.

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2. For those key positions, however, which require the continuous exercise of keen-witted and far-seeing judgment in the consideration of issues of actual national policy, men with a high degree of what the psychologist calls "general intelligence" are essential, and the recruitment technique for these positions should include a properly administered intelligence test.

3. Congenital mental endowments, however, must, for these positions, be enriched and matured by as wide as possible acquired culture, and the background and some more liberal studies of a University career provide the obvious formative influences for this.

4. Intelligence and culture alone are not enough. Recruiting authorities cannot afford to ignore the large and, it is hoped, increasing area of attention being given by the Universities to the social sciences, administration among them: at least some study in this field should be required of the future administrator.

5. Easiness, pleasantness and readiness of personal address constitute a further essential quality of the head of a department; this implies the inclusion of a viva voce in the recruitment tests.

6. To the above personal attainments should be added an early acquaintance with specific departmental practices and procedure. The younger this experience is gained the more effective is it, and the sooner can the recruit be relieved of its inhibiting influence and initiated into more responsible and hence more congenial duties.* But the necessity for this preliminary acquaintance with departmental routines "in the raw," and for the early contacts on equal terms with fellow-officers which it implies, cannot be lightly gainsaid.

7. To secure recruits of the highest quality, and to retain their services, definite prospects must be held out of an ultimate reward commensurate with that which an exceptional administrator could expect in other walks of life.

8. Any scheme of reform in this matter must conform to the democratic standards of the existing Australian community: this implies equality of educational and Service opportunity. How may these principles be carried into effect?

VII

The only method of recruitment known to the writer which meets nearly all the requirements is one similar to that adopted by the N.S.W. Public Service Board in recruiting the technical staff of the N.S.W. Department of Agriculture.

* Cf. the contention of Sir W. Beveridge (*The Public Service in War and Peace*, 1920, p. 41) that "the Civil Service does not give real responsibility to men soon enough in life." He quotes with qualified approval the view that "no man would ever be capable of a really first-rate position if he had not had responsible work before he was thirty."

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The method would be to announce each year that trainees for the administrative class would be selected from the best candidates for entrance to the Public Service at the *Leaving Examination*. The salary scales and advancement prospects in the class would be clearly set out, and it should be stated that successful candidates would be sent to the University for a full course, that they would not necessarily be appointed to the Service at the end of the course, but that, if appointed, they would be required to commit themselves to a minimum term of service.

It is most probable that the Leaving Examination pass (especially in the languages and mathematics²⁹), is itself a fairly reliable indication of general intelligence; but this would be supplemented at the first selection by a regular psychological test in addition to an interview and the usual medical examination.

The creation of a special class, with appropriate prospects and salaries, should attract the best products of the full secondary school course. There is reliable evidence to support the opinion that the provision of University courses for (and the payment of a salary during the course to) such recruits would be a safe and profitable investment for the State. Several recent instances could be cited of Leaving entrants to the Service who, at their own expense, graduated brilliantly as evening students—then, in some cases, left the Service for more promising fields of endeavour. Even under the present system, the first dozen successful candidates at the public service clerical entrance examinations (Leaving standard) are almost invariably of high quality. Under the proposed scheme, this would be more certain, while there would be much greater likelihood of retaining these valuable recruits afterwards. The British Civil Service has no difficulty in attracting and holding first-class honours graduates of the best Universities. But there are three reasons why recruitment *before* graduation is here recommended for Australia.

In the first place, it is necessary to admit the immediate political inexpediency of Australian governments reserving the "plums" of the public service for the finished products of University training, which, despite bursaries and exhibitions, can still be said to be closed to large sections of the community for economic reasons. The same probably applies, in lesser degree, to the full secondary school course, but since the Australian services already recruit part of their ordinary clerical staffs from the Leaving examinations, criticism could not consistently be levelled at this new scheme on the score of social discrimination. This, of course, does not absolve the State from the responsibility of rectifying existing inequalities of oppor-

tunity in the education system. In any case, the (now acknowledged) English principle of recruiting University men to the First Division because of their psychological and social compatibility with a "governing class" is irrelevant in the Australian community.

In the second place, an essential feature of the scheme would be that trainees, after being allowed to express any preferences they might have, would be attached to their departments, in which they would be required to spend University vacations and other specified times studying the departmental archives and routines, and making those contacts, on equal terms, with their clerical contemporaries, which should afterwards result in harmonious relations between chiefs and subordinates. But while most of this practical training would be done in the trainee's future department, a definite proportion of it would consist of experience in other relevant branches of the Service, to the subsequent improvement and inter-departmental co-operation and co-ordination.

In the third place, by recruiting before entrance to the University, the State can ensure not only that the trainee shall be in a position to interest himself in, and relate his activities to, his subsequent career, but also that part of his studies, while not being narrowly technical, shall be relevant to his future work—and this, possibly, not merely in terms of general techniques of administration, but also with special reference to the special functions and social significance of his department. (Of course, full development on these lines cannot take place until more research on problems of government has been done, and Universities have recognised the need for, and the possibilities of, adequate teaching services in public administration.) At the same time, appointment at the end of the course would be made strictly conditional upon the achievement of a minimum standard of academic and practical performance.

Finally, the institution of this reform would have to begin with a careful survey of the public service classifications to ascertain the precise areas and amounts of work appropriate to the special administrative class, and the number of officers required to do it. The annual replacement needs would be arrived at by calculation, and—to allow for what every good public servant will call "contingencies"—a slightly greater number of trainees would be selected at each Leaving examination, and assigned to their departments and courses. At the conclusion of the "training" period, those who had fulfilled all requirements, having derived the advantages of a full University career, and acclimatised to the starker actualities of daily practice, would begin their real work as understudies to senior members of the administrative division. A country as closely wedded as Australia is to the philosophy of the positivist, Social Service State, cannot

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afford to deny itself the contributions such a corps would make, not only to administration, but also to national policy.

NOTES

¹ U.K. Royal Commission on the Civil Service (1914, Cd. 7338), Fourth Report, p. 29. ("Macdonnell Commission.")

² U.K. Select Committee on Civil Service, 1860, quoted in Macdonnell Commission, Fourth Report, par. 13.

³ Playfair Commission, 1875, quoted in Macdonnell Commission, Fourth Report, par. 20.

⁴ U.K., Ridley (Chairman) Investigation into the Civil Service, Second Report, quoted in Moses, R., *Civil Service of Great Britain*, 1914, p. 164.

⁵ Ridley Commission, Second Report, quoted in Macdonnell Commission, Fourth Report, par. 36.

⁶ Reorganisation Committee on Civil Service of U.K., 1920, Report, par. 16.

⁷ Ridley Commission, Second Report, quoted in Macdonnell Commission, Fourth Report, par. 35.

⁸ See the Macdonnell Commission Report, pars. 19, 21, 34-43, and 51; and Tomlin Commission (U.K. Civil Service) Report, 1931, Ch. III.

⁹ The late Mr. Hawkins, reported in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19th November, 1937.

¹⁰ N.S.W. Public Service Board, Annual Report, 30th June, 1938, p. 11.

¹¹ Included in an article by the President of the Association in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22nd June, 1938.

¹² Commonwealth Public Service Act, 1922-36, Sec. 36 (A).

¹³ Commonwealth Public Service Commissioners, Annual Report, 1934, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴ Bland, *Shadows and Realities of Government*, p. 34; *Planning the Modern State*, pp. 122-3.

¹⁵ See Moses, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 217, 222, 228; Bland, *Shadows and Realities of Government*, 1923, p. 33.

¹⁶ Laski, H. J., *Parliamentary Government in England*. Reviewed, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, January, 1939, p. 65.

¹⁷ N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, Second Series, Vol. 152, p. 1675.

¹⁸ *New Zealand Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 35.

¹⁹ See Wootton, Mrs. B., *Lament for Economics*, 1938.

²⁰ The Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, U.K., Cd. 1446, 1876, p. 25.

²¹ Finer, H., *The British Civil Service*, 1937, p. 91.

²² Finer, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

²⁴ U.K. Parliamentary Papers, 1875, Vol. XXIII, p. 125.

²⁵ Finer, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

²⁶ Hogben, L. (ed.), *Political Arithmetic*, 1938, article on "Ability and Opportunity in English Education," p. 336.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 372.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 372.

²⁹ See Pitkin, W., *Short Introduction to the History of Human Stupidity*, 1932, pp. 169-171, 180, and 152, 159-162.

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Studies of the Origin and Growth of the Government Departments Concerned with Scottish Affairs

Series I: General and Departments of the Secretary of State.

IN the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Group the Institute have a branch with energy and method behind it. In 1934 the group arranged a series of after-luncheon talks of "Studies in the Development of Edinburgh" and the addresses have now been published in one volume. It has boldly embarked on a new programme, of five years mark you, of addresses on the Scottish departments. It is earnestly to be hoped that other groups will quickly set about rivalling this splendid spirit of enterprise, even though they may not have quite the same opportunities as Edinburgh, not least those south of the Tweed, selecting for their series of addresses a subject suited to their local conditions and interests, and not let all the roses blossom in Edinburgh!

The present booklet contains five addresses on, respectively, the Lord Advocate's Department and the Criminal Courts, the Office of the Secretary of State for Scotland, Juvenile Welfare and After-Care Office and Prisons, with a general review in the opening address. The speakers were all persons who could talk with authority, and included Mr. Reid, the Solicitor-General for Scotland; Sir John Jeffrey, formerly Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, and Mr. Rose, Assistant Under-Secretary of State. The booklet is published by the group and can be obtained from it. It will enlighten Southerners in particular about what must have been to some of them the mysteries of Scottish departmental organisation. Succeeding addresses will be awaited with much interest.

I. G. GIBBON.

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Labour in the United States : Basic Statistics for Social Security

By W. S. WOYTINSKY. Pp. 333. (Social Science Research Council, Washington.) \$3.50.

EVERY scheme of national insurance needs its prophet who can foresee the future sufficiently to place the scheme on what is generally called "an actuarial basis." The masterpiece of such foresight was the work of the late Sir Alfred Watson in 1925 in the planning of the British Widows, Orphans and Old Age Pensions Scheme of that year. From that date to this his forecasts have been almost exactly confirmed, and the whole scheme shows signs of running smoothly into the far future.

Against this must be set an equally disastrous mistake by the same actuary in the recasting of the Unemployment Insurance Scheme under the Blanesburgh Commission of 1927. One simple little mistaken assumption, namely, that the average rate of unemployment would be only 6 per cent., threw the whole Unemployment Insurance Scheme into confusion and bankruptcy from which it has only recently been rescued by Sir William Beveridge's Committee.

The moral to these tales is that in putting national insurance schemes upon what is called an actuarial basis, economic as well as actuarial judgment is required. The administrator responsible for planning a scheme must also be willing to defy "the Civil Service code of fears" and make speculative and hazardous estimates of future economic trends. Particularly must he beware of plans which preserve the appearance of intellectual respectability by trying to hide from view the speculative element involved in all forecasts: these are the most dangerous of all.

Mr. Woytinsky, as a worker in the International Labour Office, became known as a statistician with an exceptionally wide range of interests and knowledge. His recent work has been on the subject of the social consequences of the last economic crisis in different countries. He has now prepared this book under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, as an analysis and forecast of economic and social trends affecting the United States Social Security scheme. It is designed, apparently, as a supplement to official estimates so far made. Not only have the numbers and age composition of the United States population to be foreseen up to the year 1980, but the numbers engaged in different types of industry, in businesses of different size, employers, independents, and wage workers, have also to be forecast as far ahead as is practicable.

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Perhaps the most interesting table which he prepares is a forecast of the future social structure of the U.S.A., as follows:—

[*Millions.*]

	Total Occupied Population	Occupied in Agriculture	Occupied in Other Industries	
			Employers and Self- Employed	Wage and Salary Earners
1930	48.8	10.5	4.6	33.7
1940	54.7	11.0	5.2	38.5
1950	58.7	10.5—11.0	5.7—5.8	42.0—42.4
1960	60.8	10.0—11.0	5.9—6.0	43.9—44.8
1970	63.1	9.5—11.0	6.2—6.4	45.9—47.2
1980	62.1	9.0—11.0	6.1—6.2	45.0—46.7

The statistical specialist will be very interested in the detailed and complex calculations necessary to forecast the effects of exemption of industrial establishments below a certain size, provisions for unemployment, and mortality in different occupations.

COLIN CLARK

Model Building By-Laws Illustrated

By G. ERIC MITCHELL, M.Inst.M. & Cy.E., A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.

MR. G. ERIC MITCHELL must be congratulated upon this work. In attempting to clarify by explanation and illustration the meaning and intention of the various model by-laws he has set an excellent example. His comments with regard to the consolidation of building legislation, the scope of the model by-laws, and the important changes which have been made therein should prove most useful.

It is shown that the purpose of the model by-laws is to regulate building development upon a uniform basis throughout the country, and to make provision for the compulsory revision by by-laws at ten-yearly intervals in order to keep abreast with the rapid changes in building design and use of materials.

The author has taken his courage in both hands and has attempted to interpret the meaning of many of the by-laws with good illustrations. It is the writer's considered opinion that many similar statutes would gain enormously if the various provisions were supplemented by diagrammatic explanation, and it is hoped that

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Mr. Mitchell's book will be regarded as a precedent by other responsible writers.

It is desirable that building legislation should be comprehensive and explicit, but at the same time both compelling and binding. It is for this reason that the Parliamentary draughtsman is consulted but, as so often happens, the layman has difficulty in interpreting what are the true requirements. There is no doubt, therefore, that, if Mr. Mitchell's methods were adopted by those responsible for the framing of building provisions and their administration, enormous assistance would be given to public officials dealing with the examination and approval of deposited plans, as well as to engineers, architects and surveyors.

In this article, however, the writer desires to confine his remarks to the work of Mr. Mitchell and to refrain from entering upon any discussion on the merits or demerits of the model by-laws. One might, however, in passing, be allowed to state that they appear generally to be non-restrictive and very wide in scope.

There are a number of illustrations of a rather elementary character which might well have been omitted. For example, in diagram 16 the sketch referring to height of habitable rooms (By-law 94 (1)) is obvious, and the sketch referring to similar rooms in the roof (By-law 94 (2)) does not clarify the provision that the area of the room may be measured 5 ft. above the floor level of the room.

Again, diagrams 18 and 22 (ventilation of drains and w.c.s.) are hardly worthy of inclusion, as they are of doubtful assistance even to a student. On the other hand, there are requirements in the by-laws which might well have been illustrated, as in the case of foundation of walls (By-law 23 (2)), hollow walls (By-law 34), thickness of piers (By-law 42), and By-laws 60, 61, 62, 65, 67, 71, 72, 75 and 76 relating to fireplaces, chimneys and flues. Many of these could have been included in diagrams 10 and 11, while the provisions in respect of space at rear (By-law 82 (3)), could have been illustrated in diagram 13. Space might also have been found for the inclusion of a diagrammatic explanation of the requirements of windows (By-law 88) and windows opening to courts (By-law 89).

With regard to the drainage by-laws generally, the author has avoided detailed explanations of the more complex problems associated with the larger types of buildings such as the mechanical ventilation of w.c. compartments, etc., and the "one-pipe system of plumbing." The student might find much of interest in this part of the work, but it is doubtful whether this would be equally applicable to the more experienced.

Arising from Mr. Mitchell's comments on the absence of control,

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so far as relates to constructional timber, one is compelled to make mention of the fact that since 1st January, 1938, the London County Council has put into operation a series of by-laws governing the use of timber in the construction and conversion of buildings. Further, that the Ministry of Health have recommended that where local authorities are desirous of including as an appendix to their by-laws a schedule of timber sizes it should be that adopted in the London County Council by-laws. In this connection it would be found that the sizes of the scantlings shown in diagram 28 are based upon a conservative estimate. For an assumed spacing of 15 in. centre to centre of joists, the L.C.C. by-laws would permit a reduction in the size of the joists or, alternatively, an increase of the span.

Notwithstanding these objections, there is a considerable amount of work which will prove extremely helpful, and at the end of the volume the author has produced a brief form of specification very well illustrated to cover the essential points in building a small dwelling house. The statement that a specification should be clear and precise is noted with satisfaction, and a careful study of the various clauses indicate that this ideal has been kept in mind throughout.

In conclusion, if, arising from Mr. Mitchell's example, other public officials and persons of authority could be encouraged to agree as to what constitutes a "reasonable and sufficient compliance" with statutory requirements, a great step forward would have been made and out of the present confusion would arise uniformity of action, true understanding and better building.

It is hoped, therefore, that any criticism which may have been made will be taken in the spirit in which it is meant, *i.e.*, constructive and not destructive.

C. D.

Men, Women and Marriage : A Peculiar Anthology

By C. KENT WRIGHT, Town Clerk of Stoke Newington. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.) 5s. net.

MEMBERS of the Institute of Public Administration have long recognised that nature has endowed Mr. Kent Wright with many gifts. Among them is that of the born anthologist. But one never knows upon what subject he will next employ his versatile capacity. A week or two ago I was reviewing for another journal an exceedingly helpful book of his called *The A.B.C. of Local Government*. I turned to the present volume in the hope that I should be treated to a similarly useful introduction to men, women and marriage, a subject upon which I am much less well informed. I was not disappointed.

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As a statistician I can appreciate that there are (p. 17) "two kinds of men—those who were born to protect us, and those who were born to understand us," while there are also (p. 91) "two kinds of women, the plain and the coloured." Many of the quotations are marked by sound sense: "No man is a match for a woman, except with a poker and a pair of hobnailed boots." One even finds a recipe for a happy marriage—that "between a blind wife and a deaf husband." As another quotation points out, "all the best marriages are fifty-fifty propositions. When your wife spends fifty pounds on a coat, you are entitled to a fifty-shilling suit." So one could go on, quoting Mr. Kent Wright's selections for and against (mainly against) men, women and marriage—but you must buy the book. It is much cheaper and more entertaining than a visit to the theatre.

I always think that a review should be critical. My criticism of Mr. Kent Wright's latest book (which, by the way, is beautifully bound in white, has a satin paper jacket and would be an admirable and cheap present for a bride) is that it is ill-balanced. What I mean is that the title is attractive and there is nothing to be said against his sections on Women and Marriage. But his section on Men might just as well have been part of a book on Men, Motors and Municipalities. The section lacks connection with the title as a whole, and I think everyone would take the title to be a whole.

Then, again, although I agree that "omissions" are inevitable in a book of this description, I think that, in view of the fact that Mr. Kent Wright has obviously read *Jurgen*, by James Branch Cabell, he might consider the following extract from that book for his next edition:—"She does not understand me, and she does not always treat my superior wisdom quite respectfully. That is unfair, but it seems to be an unavoidable feature of married life. Besides, if any woman had ever understood me she would, in self-protection, have refused to marry me. In any case, Chloris is a dear, brown, plump, delicious partridge of a darling: and cleverness in women is, after all, a virtue misplaced."

SYDNEY LARKIN.

Managing Low-Rent Housing

A Record of Current Experience and Practice in Public Housing. National Association of Housing Officials, Chicago, March, 1939. 289 pp.

THIS book is a record of papers read and of the discussion following them during a two-week session in June, 1938, when the Management Training Institute met in Washington under the ægis of the

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National Association of Housing Officials. The members attending the Institute, about 80 in number, were for the most part actually engaged in housing management on schemes directly operated by the United States Housing Authority, or leased by the latter to local authorities for operation and management.

The papers and discussion reflect throughout the immensity of the task which has been thrust so suddenly upon the small band of housing experts in the U.S.A., since the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Act in 1937 removed low-rent housing from the realm of theory into that of fact. But in spite of the "emergency" and "pioneering" atmosphere that permeates the entire volume, it soon becomes apparent that the problems of management are fundamentally much the same in every country. Should the manager reside on the estate? Are the tenants to be allowed to keep domestic pets? What methods are to be used in fumigation? How are children (and adults) to be persuaded to walk on the paths provided for them, and not on the grass lawns and verges? These and many other familiar problems crop up over and over again. And one basic need is recognised at once and frequently emphasised—the absolute necessity for the housing manager to look upon his job as a vocation, and to prepare for it diligently by means of a professional training embracing both the technical and the social aspects of his work. In spite of this recognition, it is strange to note that there is as yet no sign of a properly organised training scheme for future managers, although doubtless one will be formulated in the near future.

The selection of tenants is an aspect of management to which special attention has been paid in the U.S.A., and in which definite superiority over English practice is claimed. Certainly the procedure as outlined in Miss Elizabeth Wood's paper (pp. 41-48) is highly scientific and would appear to exclude any possibility of error. But one may be forgiven for questioning whether a system whereby three separate individuals assess the applicant—the Application Interviewer, the Investigator, and the Scorer—can entirely escape the danger of mechanical operation, even with the safeguard of frequent discussions between the three sets of officials concerned.

It is admitted that English procedure is ahead of American in the careful allocation of tenants, on which so much of the future well-being of the housing estate depends. Probably, however, it is more correct to say that differences in selection and allocation of tenants reflect differences in the stage which housing has reached in the two countries, rather than any superiority or inferiority of practice. The U.S.A. has only made a beginning with her housing problem so far. She is still at the stage of being able to select her

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tenants as carefully as she wishes, and must, therefore, be quite sure of choosing the families who most deserve to benefit by her housing programme. England, on the other hand, has reached the point when many local authorities have to face the problem of rehousing *all* the tenants in a given area, irrespective of their character or circumstances. As the U.S.A. digs deeper into her housing problem, and reaches an ever lower stratum of society, she will certainly require to study the question of allocation as thoroughly and as scientifically as she is now doing in the case of tenant selection.

One sphere in which America undoubtedly leads is in the recognition that housing is not simply a matter of providing shelter, but is concerned also with the building of constructive human relationships. Hence she has incorporated in her housing projects from their inception the necessary means for social intercourse and recreation, thus avoiding many of the mishaps and much of the waste that have followed from the non-recognition or the tardy acceptance of these needs in this country.

A conspicuous omission in this most interesting symposium is the almost complete absence of reference to the benefits to be gained by adopting the system of personal weekly collection of rents in the homes of the tenants, and by utilising for this and other duties of housing management the services of trained and educated women. Here again, the explanation may be found in the stage reached by American housing, as well as in the different social and economic conditions prevailing in that country. When her housing schemes become older, rendering the problem of maintenance more acute, and when she begins to rehouse the poorest elements in her population, the realisation may emerge that the Octavia Hill system has more to contribute to a solution of management problems in the U.S.A. than is apparent at her present stage of development.

MARGARET MILLER.

Notes

University of London—Diploma in Public Administration—Examination Results

The results of the July examination of the University of London show an appreciable increase in the number of students presenting themselves for the Diploma in Public Administration. This is all the more remarkable as the past year has been one of crisis and alarm which, especially on the Civil Defence side, has entailed a considerable amount of extra work in both the civil and the municipal service.

One of the students (Mr. C. E. Bagwell, Supplies Department, London County Council) has the distinction of being the first student from an extension centre to pass the final Diploma examination under the regulations which permit a student with approved educational qualifications, though not a matriculated student of the University, to sit for the examination. The Institute was largely instrumental in securing the reform of the University regulations in this matter.

The following is a summary of the published results:—

Examination for the External Diploma (for matriculated students):

Final—21 passes (2 with distinction).

Part I—32 passes.

Examination for the Diploma (for university extension and tutorial class students):

Final—12 passes.

Part I—24 passes.

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Housing Yearbook, 1939. Edited by Coleman Woodbury. Pp. vii+240. (National Association of Housing Officials, Chicago.)

As in previous years, a large section of this volume consists of accounts of the activities of all the official and unofficial bodies connected with housing in the U.S.A., the material being presented by states and cities or metropolitan areas. The various reports sent in are admirably arranged and presented, and all reflect the immense increase of local activity in housing following upon the setting up of the United States Housing Authority.

Among the interesting topics dealt with in the remainder of the book is the problem of rural housing, the seriousness of which may be gauged from the following statement made by Mr. W. W. Alexander in his chapter on the housing activities of the Farm Security Administration: "Last summer in Europe, I noted what the Swedish, Danish and English people have done in the way of rural housing. It made our own lack of programme the more apparent. If we could house all our low-income farm families with the same standards the Danes use for their hogs, we would be a long step ahead." Apart from the usual difficulties associated with rural housing in all countries, America has to face the added problem of the housing of migratory labourers, particularly in California and other western states, a problem which has been accentuated in recent years by the large number of farm families who have moved to California from the "dust bowl."

Mr. Nathan Straus contributes an interesting chapter on "Public Housing, 1938-1939," in which he covers many topics, including construction costs and rents. Especially noteworthy is his statement that the USHA-aided housing projects are designed to serve families earning from about \$400 to \$1,100 a year, at rents ranging from \$3 to \$5 per room per month. When this is achieved it will constitute a considerable step towards meeting the housing needs of the lowest urban income group in the U.S.A.

A final chapter summarises the main events of the year from the housing point of view, and comments on the continuing scarcity of skilled and trained staff which threatens to become "not only an inconvenience but a serious danger" to the successful accomplishment of the housing programme. It appears that no definite plan has as yet been formulated to overcome this danger, although mention is made of the desirability of co-operation between housing and civil service agencies in the matter of recruitment of personnel, and the need for working out some sort of apprenticeship system in order to attract into the service of local authorities young men and women who wish to make housing their careers.

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In the latter connection, authorities in the U.S.A. would find it of interest to consider the experience of the small but growing number of municipalities in England who have established paid studentships for the training of educated young women in the Octavia Hill system of housing management.

M. M.

The Government of Greater Germany. James Kerr Pollock, New York. (D. Van Nostrand Co., 1938.)

THIS is one of the series on the Governments of Europe which this publisher has given us recently, and joins the studies of France, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, Scandinavia and Italy.

In many ways we have here a useful book for the high school to early university student. It covers the recent governmental evolution of Germany and gives an account of that country's recent foreign policy and demands. There is a quite adequate description of the National Socialist Party, its organisation and development. This is of definite value.

The brief résumé of Germany's history under the Weimar Constitution is a rapid factual sketch, rather than an explanatory and analytical account. It might usefully be expanded in a second edition.

The description of the administrative machine, central, local and of economic, cultural and religious affairs, is competently done and provides the backbone of the book. It makes an interesting preliminary, and provides the facts necessary, to the asking of the question, "What is there original or instructive in the Nazi experiment—how does it differ either from the old, old method of autocratic government of more primitive times, or from the methods of economic control in the modern world?"

H. R. G. G.

Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives. 12me Année, No. 1, January, February and March, 1939.

THREE articles of particular interest in this issue bring out clearly the different types of difficulty with which totalitarian and democratic communities are faced. Two of these deal with conditions in Italy: one, in Italian, dealing with the financial aspects of a corporate system, and the other by Alfredo Vacchini on Autarchy in Italy. Autarchy is a corporative concept placing the State above the individual. The Fascist Party in Italy seeks to establish the economic independence of the autarchy and to export as much as possible at the highest possible price. The difficulty of establishing a self-sufficient State which will sell but cannot be persuaded to buy must be patent to all; nevertheless, this difficulty has not yet to be faced, for the Italian people still find it necessary to import goods and so to some extent at least maintain a reasonable balance of trade. The desire for self-sufficiency was encouraged by the introduction of sanctions during the Abyssinian struggle, and it is not surprising therefore to find strong words used in this article against those who pour scorn on Italian efforts, but the final sentences are reasonable enough, for who can object to a country preferring to exploit its own resources rather than continuing to buy from others? Self-sufficiency, however, is one thing, but the desire to exploit other nations is another, and there cannot be selling without purchasing. The reconciliation of these two economic approaches is the problem of the totalitarian state.

The problem of a democratic community is of rather a different nature, and arises out of the need for technical and specialised knowledge on the part of the servants of the State. In Belgium and in Holland local government is largely in the hands of burgomasters. In Belgium these burgomasters are the nominees of the locality in which they exercise their authority; in Holland they are the

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local representatives of the central government and are responsible to the central government. The experience of the Belgian system shows only too clearly that it gives rise to a lack of vigour. Burgomasters hesitate to apply rules which injure the particular interests of their electors; this difficulty does not arise in Holland. The problem is how far should the individual surrender rights to the State to ensure the fullest possible benefit being obtained by the individual from the fact of the existence of the State. It is clear that unless there is a surrender of individual liberties the Modern State cannot be effectively enjoyed, for it works on such a huge scale, and in the sphere of local government particularly there must be uniformity of action which is endangered by the system of local election of responsible officials. So the Belgians look to Holland for a solution to their problem in this connection, though it is agreed that the real difficulty lies in the individual who holds the position concerning which dispute may arise.

Further replies to the inquiry into the activities of National Institutions for administrative research are published, including a special article on the Hungarian Institute of Administrative Sciences, and there is an article on the Budget Commission and modernising public management in the Philippines, by Q. E. Austria, beside the usual notes on current ideas and facts. A. W. P.

Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives. 12me Annee, No. 2, April, May and June, 1939.

THE inquiry into the recruitment and improvement of the administrative class, which was the outcome of discussions at the Conferences of the Institut International des Sciences Administratives, held in 1936 at Zurich, Berlin and Warsaw, is summarised in this issue by M. René Didisheim, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Institut. The replies of each country are set out under the headings of the questionnaire with the result that the differences between the various methods of recruitment are clearly apparent. This inquiry was noted in the issue of PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION for January, 1938, and therefore calls for no further comment here.

The wonders of Fascism and the praise of Benito Mussolini are again sung by Alfredo Vacchini, this time on the subject of the "Chamber of the Fasces and Corporations," which has recently been set up in the place of the Chamber of Deputies in Italy. Signor Vacchini's articles, which are becoming a feature of this *Revue*, are always very interesting, though one cannot help feeling that they lack constructive criticism. The new Chamber is all that could be desired; it is the expression of a new age, a new Italian mentality, which has given to Rome a new Empire. These things are easily said but not so easily proved, and somehow these articles on Mussolinian Italy fail to convince. Perhaps it is that in England one has become sceptical of anything that seeks to glorify the benefits of totalitarianism.

A year ago Alfredo Vacchini had an article in the *Revue* on the Central Institute of Statistics of Italy; in this issue there is an article on the Statistical Office of the City of Copenhagen, by Kjeld Johansen, the Chief of the Statistical Department of Copenhagen. This office is like the Central Institute in that it is a source of envy to the English reader, who has to go to many different sources for his statistical returns. In Copenhagen everybody goes to the Statistical Office and, what is more, the member of the public only has to give his information to the one office, he does not have to repeat it for the benefit of several different departments. Pensioners, school children, "microbe-carriers," militiamen, criminals, are all registered at the central office at which the departments concerned make their inquiries for necessary information.

Another interesting article in this issue is by William Ebenstein on "Government and Housing in the United States." The growth of the interest taken in

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housing in the States is outlined from the first ordinances in New Amsterdam in 1647 designed to restrain chimney fires to the establishment United States Housing Authority, under the United States Housing Act of 1937, which exists to give federal financial aid to state and local housing authorities to provide decent, sanitary and safe dwellings for families of low income. In England the Housing Acts affect the working classes and the definition of this class of the community has always been the subject of speculation. In America this difficulty is avoided by specifying that only those families are eligible whose income is less than five times the rental, including the cost of heat, light, water and cooking fuel, of the premises to be provided.

In addition to the above there is an article on "The Administrative Function as an Element in the Organisation of the Public Services," by M. Maurice Mondy, of Brussels, and the usual section devoted to current ideas and facts which is principally concerned with publications concerning Belgium and France.

A. W. P.

The Library and the Community. L. Stanley Jast. (Nelson: 2s. Pp. 204.)

THIS book in Nelson's *Discussion Series* is probably, nay certainly, the best book on public libraries which has been written for the layman. The fact that the author was formerly Chief Librarian of Manchester is sufficient indication of its authoritativeness. He introduces his book by a brief account of the beginnings of libraries, passes on to their recent development, and speaks of the future. County libraries are giving a cheap and inefficient service compared with urban libraries, and their service will remain poor until they spend as much as the urban authorities. Rates of 2d., 3d. and 4d. in the pound are common, and Mr. Jast points out a fact which is often overlooked, *i.e.*, a library which spends 2d. or less is in no better position financially than it was before the Great War. He makes a strong appeal for up-to-date children's libraries and for a central reference library in London. No one interested in local government can afford to overlook this book.

H.

Government Corporations and Federal Funds. John McDiarmid. (Chicago, 1938: \$2.50.)

THIS volume, as its title implies, deals with a specific aspect of the Government Corporation. It forms one of a series of Studies in Public Administration emanating from the University of Chicago. While concentrating upon the financial structure of the type of public institution in question, it deals so comprehensively in short compass with the development of the Government Corporation in the United States that it has many of the features of a text-book or book of reference on this matter. An introductory chapter states, within the context of the American economic and legal system, the "Problem of Financial Freedom" for this type of Corporation. An historical sketch of Government Corporations, including those formed during the War period, follows. Thereafter the Farm Credit Association, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and a large assortment of less conspicuous New Deal Corporations pass under rapid survey. In a short chapter of Conclusions the writer embarks on the intricate problem of "determining which activities of Government are suitable for utilisation of the corporate device," and lays down certain principles which should guide the solution of this problem. One of the problems which he regards as hitherto least satisfactorily determined in American experience is the provision of suitable methods of accounting and auditing control; the activities of the General Accounting Office, in his view, have been unsatisfactory as applied to Federal Corporations. And he suggests the creation of an independent auditing agency, which would

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approximate more closely to the practices of the British system. Mr. McDiarmid's general conclusions are that the Government Corporation "reaches maximum administrative efficiency when granted a large measure of freedom in management and in financial matters," and that in the last analysis the efficiency of these bodies depends upon the selection of able and public-spirited men to direct them. His study makes small reference to British experience in this field, though that may reasonably be held to lie outside its scope. It is chiefly of value to British readers who are already well versed in this particular field of study, though it also serves a purpose as a book of reference to those who are less acquainted with the literature on the topic.

T. H. O'B.

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